

THE
FUTURE OF AFRICA

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LONDON, MADRAS AND COLOMBO

THE UNITED COUNCIL FOR WORK AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE
MADRAS, LUCKNOW, ALLAHABAD

1912

PRINTED AT THE [illegible] PRESS, MADRAS—1912

EDITORIAL NOTE

THIS text-book is the fifth in a series of text-books issued conjointly by the leading missionary societies in Great Britain for the use of Study Circles. Like its predecessors, *The Uplift of China*, *The Desire of India*, *The Reproach of Islam*, and *The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions*, the book has been written and edited with its special purpose in view. It is designed primarily for the use of those who study it chapter by chapter and meet periodically in Study Circles for discussion.

To the great regret of the Editorial Committee it has been impossible, owing to the limitation imposed by the distance between Great Britain and the heart of Central Africa, to co-operate with the author in the final revision rendered necessary by the specific purpose of the text-book. For the final arrangement and selection of material the Editorial Committee must therefore accept full responsibility. The Maps, Appendices (with the exception of Appendix C) and

Bibliography have also been prepared by the Editorial Committee. Thanks are due to the friends who have read the manuscript and helped by their knowledge and experience. The Committee are also most grateful to Mr. Dudley Kidd for his help in the preparation of illustrations [1] and for permission to reproduce those from his book *The Essential Kaffir* numbered 4, 5, 8, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 28, 36, 37, 39. The Committee are indebted to Rev. C. Inwood, Livingstonia, for the loan of No. 9; Rev. J. Lennox, Lovedale, for No. 26; the Church Missionary Society for Nos. 13, 15, 21; the South African General Mission for Nos. 3, 23; and the United Free Church Mission, Calabar, for No. 38.

[1] No illustrations are published in this edition *Ed. Indian Edition*

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS text-book has the disadvantage of being written in the heart of Africa, where there are few books to consult and no opportunity to refer to blue books and records, which would make facts more definite and up-to-date. On the other hand, it has the advantage of being written when one sees conditions of African life and mission work as they actually are, without the glamour of romance, or the distortion of a misconceived prospective.

It has also the disadvantage of being written amid the strain of progressive and far-reaching mission work, and the advantage of thorough revision by a competent committee at home, who understand better than I can, the form which it must take if it would fulfil its purpose.

The Future of Africa deals solely with pagan Africa and mission-work among the pagan races of Central and South Africa. The problems arising from the existence and spread of Islám in Africa do not come within the scope of this work, and are therefore practically untouched.

The book goes forth with the constant prayer that those who study it may hear, as loudly and as insistent as we do on the field, the cry of the utter need of pagan Africa.

DONALD FRASER

LOUDON, NYASALAND
January 1911

CONTENTS

The Future of Africa

CHAPTER I

Early Discovery

Analytical Index

The fascination of Africa

FROM time immemorial Africa has held its fascination for the human race. Greece embodied Africa in myth; Rome sent her legions thither in lust of conquest; Gaul sent her traders in search of barter and commerce; in North Africa there were reared some of the earliest leaders and saints of the Christian Church. Looking down the early centuries we search vainly, however, for further records of Africa than dim hints of futile attempts to cross her sealed threshold. The spent waves of past humanity seem but to have swept to her edge, and then to have broken and retreated with the tide.

If we turn from yesterday to to-day, what have we? Africa—but yesterday chiefly a name and a by-word, to-day assuming rank as a great world force, covered with an advancing network of civilization, a region of illimitable possibilities. The causes that have furthered this development, the purpose that underlies it, the responsibility the Christian world bears towards its furtherance, such questions constitute the theme of this book.

Africa of to-day presents a complex picture. In area, a 'vast ill-formed triangle', the continent covers eleven and a half million miles in space. Each side of the triangle is pierced by a mighty river; on the north the Nile, on the west the Congo, on the east the Zambesi. An African traveller has roughly classified the great continent thus: North Africa where men go for health, South Africa where they go for wealth, Central Africa where they go for adventure. Its population of about one hundred and sixty millions seems enormous. Yet, in comparison to the area it is small, and computed at fifteen to the square mile. Its races are innumerable; its dialects a vast confusion. The climate of Africa is modified by its elevation above the sea-level, but two-thirds of the continent lies within the tropics. The religions of Africa may be unequally divided under three heads: Christianity, Muhammadanism, and Paganism. Africa's territorial divisions are, in the main, a matter of recent history. Eight million square miles of its area are partitioned amongst the various European powers.

To Britain the appeal of Africa is specially strong. Pioneers, missionaries, traders, travellers, soldiers, civil servants, serried rank upon serried rank have flowed out from this tiny island kingdom, many of them to live and die for that far country. For all

types of men, Africa holds an abiding fascination. The student, the trader, the hunter, the philanthropist, firstly and lastly the evangelist, each and all have felt it, and in each case it differs. The riddle of the human race, its origin and development, the greed of gain, the desire for sport and adventure, the love of fellowmen, the sense of the mysterious awful responsibility of millions of souls still ignorant of Christ. All this is embodied in Africa and has its significance for the readers of her story.

From the dawn of history, North Africa has been accessible and preserved in record, but until the Middle Ages nothing was known of South and Central Africa, and indeed, from fifteen degrees north latitude southward to the Cape of Good Hope its history is only modern, though constant attempts were made from the fifteenth century onwards to lift the curtain which hid it from the outer world. It is one of the amazing facts of history that the greater portion of the vast continent remained closed for so many long centuries. Was it God's purpose, we may ask, to keep it closed? Was it that neither the Church, nor the national conscience in Europe, was prepared to use rightly that great possession which has only within recent memory been revealed? Had Africa been opened to the early adventurers as were Mexico and Peru, would the continent, like them, have been made a desolation? Can we say that God, in His wonderful patience, was perfecting His preparations for a day when nations were able in some measure to recognize their trusteeship of ignorant and lower races? To such questions these chapters may perchance supply an answer.

A closed continent

The first attempt to open up pagan Africa, came about through mediæval adventurers. The Church

was slowly awakening to its wide-world responsibilities and consciousness of a duty towards lower and alien races stirred in the hearts of the noblest of her sons. Three names stand out in the annals of early African discovery Prince Henry the Navigator, half an Englishman by birth through his mother, a daughter of John of Gaunt; Bartholomew Diaz, the famous discoverer who rounded the Cape of Good Hope and solved the problem of the southern route to India; Vasco da Gama, intrepid adventurer and seaman, who, touching a beautiful country on Christmas day, gave to it the name of Natal.

Mediæval discoverers and explorers

In the middle of the fifteenth century, Portugal was hard pressed by the Moors. After a disastrous war in North Africa, the Portuguese were driven back, and returned to their own country leaving Prince Ferdinand, a brother of Henry, to die in the Sultan's prison. Henry withdrew to the barren Cape St. Vincent, and there meditated deeply on the sore crisis that was threatening Christendom. He saw that all the wealth of Asia was passing through the hands of the Moors who held Egypt and Constantinople, and that if he could intercept this wealth, he would take from them the sinews of war. Rumours, too, came to him of the possibility of a passage to Asia round Africa, and also of a wonderful Christian king in the heart of the continent called Prester John, who might become his ally.

(a) Prince Henry

These stories fired his ambition, and he set himself to prepare for his adventure. He gathered about him the best scientific books and instruments, scholars deep in the arts of map-drawing and navigation, and learned in the mysteries of astronomy.

He then got the finest shipbuilders in the world to superintend the making of his caravels, so that they came from his yards stronger and better than the best ships of Genoa.

Soon his sailors began to go forth on their voyages. Down the western shore they crept until, in 1445, Cape Verde was reached. These were brave ventures for men whose imaginations were full of dreadful tales of sea monsters, and boiling seas, and devils who waited to snatch at poor sailors. But Prince Henry had fortified their minds with a bull from the Pope, which promised an immediate entrance to Paradise for those who met death by the way. It is imperative we should understand that Prince Henry at least was impelled by pure missionary zeal and a 'generous eagerness for the conversion of the savage nations to Christianity.' From first to last his aim was high, gallant, and disinterested. His life was a continuous struggle with danger, the elements, and his unruly followers. He, indeed, attempted a veritable missionary crusade. He planned to break the back of the threatening Moorish power, and to spread the knowledge of Christianity. As Grand Master of the Order of Christ, it was his duty 'to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of their holy religion.' He was also statesman enough to recognize that the strength and hope of Christianity lay in propagating it. This and this alone was its defence against Islám. When he sent his ambassador to Pope Martin V, he insisted that the taking of Christianity into countries unknown, 'was the sole means of resisting the desolating progress of the false prophets.' The clergy of Portugal became Honry's staunchest allies, stoutly defending him, and furthering his schemes in the face of all opposition. Voyagers started out after special religious

services. Chaplains and missionaries were carried on board the caravels, on whose sails the cross was emblazoned. But Prince Henry's desire for the betterment of Africa was not universally shared by his captains and followers. As they cruised round the Guinea coast they came on the new temptation of slaves and the immemorial one of gold. These two prizes, destined to prove the ruin of Portuguese enterprise and to cause irreparable harm to Africa, put an end at this early stage to the original religious aim of these voyages. Discovery, too, received a check. Ships returned to Portugal laden with gold and slaves, manned by sailors fired only with zeal for gain. Prince Henry met them coldly, telling his captains he sought for knowledge, not gold. His passionate cry rings across the centuries: 'Plant the cross on some new headland! That is what I want.' Thus the greed of the early adventurers sowed the seeds of that curse of African history, the slave-trade. Nor did the Church condemn the bringing of cargoes of slaves. She indeed approved it, for the heathen were thereby given the blessing of living in a Christian land. These first slave-traders little thought that with the introduction of negroes they were preparing the way for long years of havoc to Africa. Nor did they realize that they had started the decline of the kingdom of Portugal, for the tilling of the land now became a slave occupation, and honest labour was despised.

Prince Henry's ideals for Africa were thus crushed, and his death might well seem to be the consummation of a failure. But regarded in the light of Froude's reflection his efforts were not entirely wasted, for 'the real value of the thought or the actions of remarkable men, does not lie in the material result which can be gathered, but in the heart and soul of those who do or utter them.'

(b) Later Portuguese discoverers

After Prince Henry died Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama followed in his steps. In 1486, Diaz rounded the Cape, touching occasionally on the coast, and in 1497, another expedition was fitted out and sent forth under the leadership of da Gama. Before the vessel sailed the leaders of the expedition spent the whole night in prayer, and next morning walked through the streets in religious procession accompanied by the chants and prayers of the priests. The expedition landed at the Cape and opened communications with the Hottentots, at first in all friendliness, but this attempt ended, as was the case so often later, in fighting and bloodshed. Fired with the great prospects of wealth and glory, Portugal dispatched an expedition in 1510 to take possession of the east coast and open up trade with India. Various priests and a company of Dominican friars sailed with the expedition as missionaries desiring to commend Christianity to the natives. On the east coast the Portuguese came into contact with the Arabs who lived there in settlements pursuing the slave-trade, and for a century and a half the Portuguese lived in rivalry and warfare with the Arabs on the edge of the East Coast. They, however, fell in turn victim to the vices of those they had at first conquered, and at the end of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese colonists were utterly exterminated, having effected little or nothing for the pagan hordes they had set forth to conquer and Christianize.

All that was done for the pagan tribes on the north-east coast came, not through European and Christian channels, but through Arab and Muhammadan ones. What these brought, however, was a curse and not a blessing. The Arab had no capacity for self-discipline and the idle luxury into which

he sank when all labour was done for him by slaves, reduced his civilizing influence to the lowest degree. It is as a slave-owner, and the organizer of the slave trade, that he has been felt most in Africa. Yet there were some, who, in pursuit of their brutal traffic, did notable deeds. They penetrated to the interior and actually crossed the continent, long before Europeans had attempted to pierce beyond the coast line.

After the Reformation

In the sixteenth century the Portuguese holding from the Pope a monopoly of all lands that they might discover in Africa, were practically the sole traders and colonists from Europe, but at the Reformation, when the bulls of popes lost authority over the protestant nations, England and Holland began to feel their way about the coast of Africa.

(a) Trading companies

Charters were granted by Queen Elizabeth to companies which traded with the West Coast, but their commerce soon became mixed up with slaving. The famous Sir John Hawkins led one of the early expeditions, and was soon deeply engaged in the overseas traffic in negroes. The Queen expressed her detestation of his treatment of the natives in forcible language, but apparently he was not ashamed of his deeds, nor did society scout him, for when he was knighted he adopted as his crest, 'a demi-Moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord.'

The effect of such unprincipled trading on the natives was disastrous in the extreme, so much so that the coast tribes who were exploited, and for three or four hundred years were in touch with the commerce of Europe, were many of them, at the end of that time, in a more degraded condition morally and physically than the untouched tribes

of the interior. On the West Coast the traffic in human beings rapidly approached awful dimensions. The articles that the negroes wanted for barter were gin and ammunition—gin to besot themselves, ammunition with which to overpower and enslave the neighbouring tribes. On the East Coast, when gold could not be got, the slave trade was started, and soon, as in the West, all legitimate commerce died. The traffic degraded and brutalized every one involved in it. Thus these early trading companies were, with few exceptions, so intent on acquiring wealth regardless of the means used to obtain it that they ended in shameless exploiting of both Africa's peoples and resources.

Wonderful stories now came to Europe of the riches of Timbuctoo, where the king tied his horse to a rock of gold. From Sofala on the East Coast came reports of the mines of Ophir which had enriched Solomon and the East; and expedition after expedition was dispatched to find them. In 1621 Captain Jobson came back to England after a voyage up the Gambia, having bought a wonderful kingdom for a few bottles of his best brandy, telling of a land whose cities were roofed with gold. But he never went back to claim his kingdom, or unroof the houses! Year by year all the gold the Portuguese could get from their Arab middlemen who bought at King Solomon's mines was a little dust in a few goose quills.

Meanwhile a more prosperous and solid colonization was in progress at the Cape of Good Hope.

(b) Colonization by England and Holland

Settlements had been started there by the Dutch to refresh the ships' crews on their long voyages to India, and green vegetables, plantations of limes and other fruits were grown for the poor scurvy-stricken

seamen. English officers also saw the advantage of Table Bay as a station on the way to India, and in 1620 proclaimed the sovereignty of James I. over the whole country. They placed on record their reasons for this action, and among others was the hope that the Hottentots would soon become servants of God. The colony, however, became Dutch, and remained so till the beginning of last century. As the number of colonists increased they spread over a larger and larger area, requiring for their own uses the lands that had formerly been in the hands of native tribes. The Dutch colonists were men of a very superior type, many of them sincerely religious, and lovers of home and of peace. Like the other Europeans at that time, however, they had no idea of their responsibility towards the weaker races, or of their natural rights. Thus their unjust and harsh treatment of the people, so far from doing anything to reconcile them to the gospel of Christ rather repelled them.

When the colonists first arrived they found two tribes in possession of the land. The one was called the Bushmen, the original inhabitants of Africa, a people who lived by hunting, without agriculture and without settled abodes. The other was the Hottentots, a pastoral race who had recently come into these lands and dispossessed the Bushmen of some of their ancestral hunting grounds. As colonization increased, more land was required and much of the country of the Hottentots was seized, and the people enslaved by the farmers, and as the Hottentots were not a very bellicose race, this settlement of the land question gave rise to only a moderate amount of trouble. But as the colonists began to press into the hunting grounds of the Bushmen fierce trouble arose. The Bushmen could not be enslaved. They were hard to

capture, and they deeply resented the colonial usurpation of their lands. At first they were the only inhabitants of the Cape, and thought themselves to be the only people in the world. The Hottentots followed, passing through the hunting grounds of the Bushmen with herds of cattle, but they were no match for their cunning tactics in war. Finally came the Christian, as he was called, utterly dispossessing them of their old homes. They naturally resented this, and the colonist made no attempt at conciliation. The Bushmen attacked his property and stole and devoured his cattle. The whites then hunted them by commandoes, though a few of them finding that hunting only made them more liable to have their cattle plundered, tried pacific measures, and fed the Bushmen in times of severe famine, and found that they made most faithful herds. But these few were exceptional, for the ordinary colonist regarded the Bushman as a mere wild beast of the field. Towards the end of the eighteenth century fearful war broke out between the Europeans and these aborigines. At the sight of a Bushman the colonist spurred up his horses and called out his dogs and hunted him with more spirit than he would a wolf. As a consequence of this severe treatment fearful reprisals took place. Hunted like wild beasts, driven from the game haunts where they got their food, the natives wandered about in a starving condition, feeding on roots and vermin, and ready at every opportunity to satisfy their growing anger by acts of cruelty towards every Christian, and all his living property, servants or cattle. The colonial government unfortunately approved of the barbarous punishments inflicted by their people on the Bushmen, and unwisely and unjustly suffered them to exercise unlimited power over the lives of those taken prisoners. One

notorious example was reported to the authorities by the perpetrator of the deed himself. Having hunted the Bushmen in vain, he set a trap for them one day by killing a hippopotamus. He and his men then lay in wait till the starving people fell on the dead meat, then they closed round and massacred the Bushmen. He reported that he counted a hundred and twenty-two dead bodies, but that five others had escaped by swimming the river.

This brutal treatment of the natives changed those merry dance-loving hunters into a treacherous and brutish race, whose hand was against every one, and every man's hand against them. Their children were kidnapped when it was found that the elders could not be kept in slavery. But so great was their natural love of freedom that often little boys escaped from their masters, wandering for days in the wilds, in a country full of beasts of prey, until they got back to their own people.

It was not merely a feeling of hatred towards the Bushmen that distorted the colonial view of what was due to the natives. Land-greed and the need for labour on their land, led them to trample on the just rights of the natives. The children of all Hottentots who were born on the land of a settler were compelled to be his apprentices for many years, and virtually his domestic slaves. Systematic raids were waged by the frontiermen on Hottentot tribes for the possession of their fountains, and the enslaving of the people. As the 'Christians' pushed farther east, collisions took place with the more warlike Kaffirs, the inhabitants of the south-eastern corner of the continent. Sometimes the Europeans drove back the Kaffirs and took possession of their lands, and sometimes the Kaffirs returned with fearful vengeance and repulsed them.

Thus far Europe had used Africa solely as a lever for obtaining wealth. She had exploited the natives, the gold mines, and the ivory trade. For her own base ends, she had washed her hands in blood with a callous disregard of the rights of humanity, sacred, however primitive its stage. Centuries of Christian tutelage had availed not to spare the victim of her avarice. Yet we cannot but ask if the history of the early adventurers and colonists was unrelieved by disinterested effort to benefit the natives? Were all alike solely given up to the sordid search of gold? Had none of them tried to bring light to the people that sat in darkness? What of those early missionaries who accompanied Prince Henry and his followers? Had they no share in those first struggles to open up Africa?

Early missionary efforts

It is to the records of Catholic missions we must turn for the answer to these questions, for beyond one solitary attempt on the part of the Moravians, up to nearly the end of the eighteenth century, no effort was made by the Protestants of Europe to bring to the African the gospel of Christ. The Church in Europe had not realized its responsibility. The Christians at the trading ports and in Cape Colony had not come to recognize that a black man could become a son of God.

(a) The Dominicans and Jesuits

In the vanguard of the first missionaries to Africa went the friars We find the first traces of their work on the Congo, whose mouth was discovered by Diego Cam in 1484. In 1485, he returned on a visit to the ancient kingdom of the Congo, and personally instructed the king in the truths of the Christian religion. Accordingly when he left, the king begged for missionaries,

and professed a desire to become a Christian. In 1491, a large party of Dominican missionaries, workmen and agriculturists, arrived at the mouth of the Congo. The governor of the district, and uncle of the king of Congo, embraced Christianity and was baptized. There the missionaries built a church containing three altars in honour of the Holy Trinity. Proceeding to the capital, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, they were received in great state by the king. After a gracious welcome the missionaries explained their errand, and gave an account of the baptism of the governor at the coast, and of the building of the church. Mass was then celebrated, and the vestments and ceremonies were watched with awe. The king decided to build a sanctuary, and a few months later the Church of the Holy Cross was consecrated. The king and queen were baptized, and out of compliment to the reigning monarchs of Portugal, took the names of John and Leonora. Large numbers of the people, of course, followed their monarch's example, and though some of his governors and regents remained persistently devoted to fetishism, he was ably seconded in his efforts to christianize his people by his son, Alphonso. Pagan customs were suppressed by law, and armies of rebels who rose against the king because of their attachment to the old forms, were broken before his consecrated banner, which depicted the Virgin Mary and various saints appearing in the heavens to fight with the Christian army.

Further reinforcements of missionaries were sent out in 1520, and a native bishop, one of the princes of the royal house, who had been educated in Portugal, was consecrated. He died, however, shortly after landing, and the experiment does not seem to have been repeated.

The famous order of the Jesuits was founded about this time, and they placed themselves at the Pope's disposal for missionary service. One of their first expeditions was to the Congo, to which they sent a large number of missionaries. A new bishop had also arrived, and was well received. But he soon found that a severe task of discipline was before him. The lives of priests and friars were scandalous. They would neither heed his protest nor his orders, and the king had to interfere, and tie up the unruly missionaries. Some were sent as prisoners to San Thomé, but the result of their evil morals was such that, 'instead of the Christian doctrine growing, it rather diminished, and this from the fault of those who taught it.'

From this time onwards things seem to have gone all wrong. The bishop died, and the morals of the clergy and laity grew as lax as before; king, nobles, and clergy overstepped all moral law. Then came the fierce cannibal horde of Jaggas (Fans) who overran West Africa, raiding the whole land, overthrowing dynasties and overwhelming tribes. The Congo kingdom was broken up, and when the Jaggas had retired, the starving fugitives who returned to their old lands sold themselves to the Portuguese. The scattered remnants sent to Portugal for more missionaries. But the response to their appeals was less willing now than in former days. Portugal was impoverished by the Inquisition. War, also, had broken out with the Dutch, and the Portuguese were driven from their coast settlements.

Embassies were then sent to the Pope, and some answer must have been made, for in the early part of the seventeenth century missionaries were very abundant in the Congo region. But lawlessness

and immorality broke out among them, and appeals had to be made to Europe to reduce them to order. The Pope sent out new Capuchin missionaries, with instructions that they were to be the only order there. The king of Congo received them well, gave them convents and churches, and slaves to till their gardens. But when a massacre of all the princes of the blood was attempted, the missionaries protested, and the king turned against them, treated them badly, and imprisoned them. Once more the country reverted to heathenism. The successor of this bad king was no better, and he determined to kill off all the Europeans and missionaries, but instead he himself was attacked and slain. Thus the history continues, becoming darker and darker, until at last there is no light left.

How fared matters elsewhere?

From the first the Portuguese kept in view the christianization of the natives as they passed along the East Coast of Africa, and founded their settlements. But the land they had discovered was very great, and their resources limited. The whole eastern world, from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, was under the jurisdiction of the first bishop of India, who resided at Goa. His available staff was so small that even the most important Portuguese settlements were without a chaplain for long periods. In 1540, seven months after the foundation of the order of the Jesuits, that burning saint, St. Francis Xavier, sailed from Lisbon for India. On his way there he spent a little time at Mozambique and then crossed the seas soon to be followed by many others of his order.

About this time a young man, the son of a native chief near Inhambane, voyaged to Mozambique in one of the Portuguese vessels, and was so kindly

treated that he was favourably impressed, and shortly after was baptized with great pomp in the church at Mozambique. He begged for missionaries to accompany him back to his native land, and the request was sent to Goa. Father Goncalo volunteered along with others for this service, and after a voyage of great privations and risks landed with his party at Inhambane. They proceeded up country to a tribe of the Makalanga, and then opened mission work. The people received them warmly, and responded rapidly, so that in a short time four hundred individuals were baptized, including the chief and his family. Leaving behind him what he believed to be an infant Christian community, the father proceeded up the Zambesi to Sena, and there received an invitation from the great Monomotapa, the 'Emperor' at Solomon's mines, to visit him. On arrival he was hospitably entertained and offered gold and female slaves. When he refused them the king soon perceived that he was a different type of Christian from any other he had seen, and he listened to his message. He was soon baptized, together with his mother and some three hundred of his counsellors and followers. But the king had no thought of abandoning his heathen customs, and soon wearied of his visitor.

Some Muhammadans at his court now tried to poison his mind against the missionary, and so worked upon his credulity that he resolved to put Dom Goncalo to death. The missionary knew that his life was threatened, but refused to flee while the heathen were still being gathered to the fold. Soon afterwards, when some fifty more natives were baptized, the king took this accession to the church as an act of defiance, and resolved to end the whole matter. The zealous priest was killed,

and his body cast into the river. The newly baptized narrowly escaped the same fate. Meanwhile the brother, who had been left behind in the young Christian community near Inhambane, had not prospered. The converts rebelled against the moral law that was urged upon them. They refused to change their former habits, and left their teacher to starve in neglect until, in a broken and miserable condition, he left the country in obedience to the instructions of his superior at Goa.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Dominicans also turned their attention to East Africa. Parties of missionaries settled around the Portuguese forts and at various points on the Zambesi. At first they confined their attention to the Europeans, whom they found in a woeful condition, morally and spiritually. Later, when some improvement appeared among them, they applied themselves to the conversion of the natives. Their task was no easy one. The tribes were constantly at war with one another. Away from the forts the missionaries had to endure privations, isolation, fever, and were in constant danger of their lives. Yet there began to gather round them little Christian communities who lived in villages under the protection of the forts.

From time to time the Dominican missionaries were reinforced by fresh members of their order, and Government allowed them a little subsidy, so that they were not entirely dependent on charity. The Jesuits, too, began to come into the Zambesi region, and a good deal of unpleasant jealousy and friction appeared between the two orders. Unfortunately the records of these early missionaries in the eighteenth century became very dismal. The morals of the Dominicans seem to have sadly

deteriorated, and Portuguese governors had frequently to complain to their superiors of their lawless and immoral lives.

At last, in 1760, the Home Government expelled the Jesuits from South-East Africa, and in 1775, the Dominicans were also ordered to leave, and with their expulsion fell the last remnants of civilization in that province. Thus we see missions in progress for over three centuries in both East and West Africa. Money had been given, efforts lavished, lives spent, and the result was apparently total failure. When the missionaries of the Baptist Society arrived at San Salvador, capital of the once Christian kingdom of the Congo, they found no traces of Christ's religion. The king and people were pagans, following dark superstitions and cruel customs. The ruins of the cathedral stood there, and in the king's compound was a large crucifix and some images of the saints, but they were only the king's fetishes. Some ceremonies were performed at funerals which seemed remotely to indicate a catholic ritual, and a cross was the favourite fetish for giving skill in hunting. That was all that remained of four centuries of mission work.

Another and even more striking example is that given by Africa's master-missionary. A century after the expulsion by the Portuguese Government, David Livingstone visited some of the stations where the early missionaries had been. This is how he described Zumbo, which is perhaps characteristic of all the others. 'The chapel, near which lies a broken bell, . . . is an utter ruin now, and desolation broods around. The wild bird, disturbed by the unwonted sound of approaching footsteps, rises with a harsh scream. The foul hyena has defiled the sanctuary. . . . One can

scarcely look without feelings of sadness on the utter desolation of a place where men have met to worship the Supreme Being, or have united in uttering the magnificent words, "Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ," and remember that the natives of this part know nothing of His religion, not even of His Name. A strange superstition makes them shun this sacred place, as men do the pestilence, and they never come near it. Apart from the ruins there is nothing to remind one that a Christian power ever had traders here, for the natives of to-day are precisely what their fathers were when the Portuguese first rounded the Cape. Their language is still unwritten. Not a single art, save that of distilling spirits by a gun barrel, has ever been learned from the strangers; and, if all the progeny of the whites were at once to leave the country, their only memorial would be the ruins of a few stone and mud-built walls, and that blighting relic of the slave trade, the belief that man may sell his brother man, a belief that is not of native origin.'

(b) Causes of failure

In this early story of missions we see again the same thing which we noted in the story of Prince Henry and his followers. An enterprise, having its origin in high ideals for the betterment of Africa, had again ended in miserable failure. Unfortunately there is not much Roman Catholic literature which honestly examines the cause. The Portuguese records are evidently biassed by a great hatred of the missionaries, and it would be unfair to estimate their character and work from the records of men whose lives and conduct were far from blameless, and whose policy towards the natives was directly opposed to Christian teaching. We know how valueless similar accounts of Protestant missions are.

Some of the early missionaries seem to have been men of evangelical zeal, who faced danger and death for the sake of the kingdom of God, and who penetrated far into the interior where no Portuguese army had ever attempted to go. Yet the fact remains that their record as a whole is one of failure. Quarrels and dissensions amongst themselves ruined much of the Christian influence that might have come from their presence. In addition to this, many of the missionaries sent out seem to have had neither moral nor spiritual stability, and the awful demoralization that even in these days inevitably seizes upon Europeans living among a heathen people if they do not pay earnest heed to the conduct of their lives, stole over the early missionaries, until their conduct became scandalous even to the heathen. Again and again commissioners were sent out to purify the missionaries, and came back aghast at the disorder and immorality. Another serious defect that ruined their influence with the natives was their implication with the slave traffic. When not actually conniving at the slave trade, they frequently employed slaves to work their plantations, and in some cases even took active part in the human barter. They gradually became the enemies rather than the friends of the defenceless natives. Nor did they hesitate to use threats and even the sword to forward their work or avenge their martyrs. We know what harm this policy has done in modern days in China. But it was not less fruitful of disaster in Africa. The closing of Madagascar, the strong resentment of Arabs and heathen against the stern Jesuit Mondaros, these and many other instances could be cited where revenge for evil treatment of missionaries has only built up a fierce wall of resentment against the messengers of the gospel. 4575

Slackness and demoralization, greed of gain, the use of force, mal-organization, such were the reasons of the failure of early missions in Africa. What lay at the root of this weakness and lack of purpose? Why had they fallen so far from their high calling? Did not the degradation and demoralization of the early missions result from their losing sight of their initial aim? Was it not from their lack of courage to maintain their tenets and to speak out in defence of their aim?

Where was the desire that Africa might receive a gospel of peace? Earnest individual souls there were indeed amongst the many, but the majority were swallowed up in the general current of wealth-seeking and exploitation.

Summary

On looking back we see that the results of the early opening of Africa were as a whole a pitiable record of failure. First came the Portuguese adventurers who set forth with such lofty purpose only to lower and lose it in the lust of conquest and greed of gain. England's earliest pioneers did not better affairs, and the Dutch States in South Africa were founded for the most part in cruelty. Yet at the outset each nation had been prompted by aims far from ignoble, motives in many instances aspiring and generous. Despite this, alas, the little leaven of corruption crept in and spread with dreadful rapidity. Even those whose direct purpose was to bring the elevating influence of Christianity into the new land fell victims to the low moral standards which prevailed.

What was the effect on Africa? Such intercourse did her no good. Her resources were not developed but wasted, for the three articles that attracted captains and colonists were gold, ivory and slaves. No attempt was made to plant or cultivate, and

Europe left the land poorer than she found it and herself stained and debilitated by her traffic. It goes hard with a land which provides wealth which is discovered and not produced.

The greed for wealth soon swamped all better feelings of responsibility towards the natives. Where gold failed, slaving was started, and in east and west legitimate commerce died. As a result of this unprincipled trading and exploitation, the coast tribes were, at the end of their three or four centuries of commerce with Europe, in a more degraded condition physically and morally than the untouched tribes of the interior.

Thus Europe for hundreds of years knocked in vain at the door of Africa, penetrated her coast-line, exploited her peoples and resources, and left chaos. The first three centuries of Europe's contact with Africa close in utter night. Lamps have been lit but they have all gone out. Fierce and destructive enemies are prowling in the dark to the terror and destruction of the people. The slave traffic is eating up its scores of thousands of victims. Gin, guns and gunpowder are being poured into the continent. Eager colonies are pressing into the ancestral lands of the people, driving out the masters of the soil, or gathering them into slavery. And all the while the Church, to whom God has given the Light of the World, is forgetting to make it shine on this foul and fearsome night

CHAPTER II

The Opening up of Pagan Africa

Analytical Index

AFRICA STILL UNDISCOVERED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE AFRICAN ASSOCIATION AND MUNGO PARK.
- (*a*) Purpose of the Association.
- (*b*) Mungo Park in Africa.
- (*c*) Discovery of Niger Delta.

PLANS FOR THE REGENERATION OF AFRICA.
- (*a*) Fowell Buxton.
- (*b*) Macgregor Laird.
- (*c*) Sir George Taubmann Goldie.

EXTENSION OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY.

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.
- (*a*) His Missionary Travels.
- (*b*) His Later Journeys.
- (*c*) His Contribution to Africa.

FURTHER OPENING OF EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

H. M. STANLEY.

THE OPENED CONTINENT.

WE have seen how in past centuries, European nations sallied forth to conquer the mysterious continent. Portuguese, English, Dutch, each in turn had come, settled on the fringes, even penetrated to a certain extent southwards, but for the most part the interior remained sealed, despite all their efforts.

Darkest Africa was still a land of mystery and Ethiopia still stretched forth her seeking hands.

Difficulties of opening up Africa

At the beginning of the nineteenth century little was known about Africa beyond the edges of the coast line. The Portuguese maintained a precarious hold of the land they had discovered, but their control seldom extended beyond the range of the guns of their forts. A number of European trading concerns were established along the West Coast, but in most cases the factors resided in hulks anchored in some river delta, or in houses built close by the shore. Even the interior of South Africa was unknown beyond the narrow limit of the frontier farms.

Various causes combined to close the great hinterland. The barriers were many, and at first glance, insurmountable. Physical barriers, dangers from the savage inhabitants, and from wild beasts, perils of drought and starvation, difficulties of transport, all these confronted him who sought to pierce a way to what lay behind and beyond the coast-line; a sum total before which the hardiest adventurer might quail. Between the high plateau of the interior and the coast line, there lay a threatening region of mangrove forest and dismal swamp, covered at low tide with black pestilential mud and long stretches of scrub and desert, a veritable no-man's-land where fever and drought bade defiance to the unwary intruder. The tribes of the interior had not broken through these barriers nor come into touch with the coast life, and few influences had penetrated from the sea-board save the devastating blight of the slave trade. Again, there was the climate. Fever was claiming its victims at the coast in relentless fashion. Entirely ignorant of the cause, the Europeans

were continually falling victims to the pestilence, sometimes as many as seventy-five per cent of the community dying in a single year.

The continent, nevertheless, continued to attract and fascinate the minds of men. Rumours of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice lying in the far interior tempted men to risk all and break through the obstacles. Sometimes bold spirits ventured through, never to return, and still the interior remained barred against the knowledge of Europe.

The African Association and Mungo Park

(a) Purpose of the Association

Since the dim days of antiquity men had been stimulated by rumoured possibilities in the region of the Niger. Somewhere hidden in the interior was fabulous wealth to be gained by those who could follow the course of that mysterious river. As civilization advanced, moreover, and men's thoughts 'widened with the process of the sun', higher motives than mere greed of gain began to stir. In Europe the scientific spirit awoke after long slumber, and impelled by a desire for knowledge rather than gold, there resulted in England the formation of the African Association. This body numbered amongst its members some of the foremost thinkers of the day. Their object was to lower the barriers that separated Africa from the rest of civilization, to reveal her dark and waste places, to solve her mighty geographical problems. First amongst these last they aimed at discovering the real source and course of the Niger. From the days of Herodotus the course of the Niger had held its fascination. On its banks lay the great city of Timbuctoo, founded by Arab traders, towards which the wealth of the northern regions flowed. Whether the Niger lost itself in some mighty lakes

or flowed towards the Nile or elsewhere, was a question debated for centuries. By the end of the eighteenth century the African Association had made four separate attempts to follow the Niger and had failed. Each time their expedition and its leader had perished without success.

Finally they chanced on a young Scotsman who seemed ideally fitted for the quest, in the person of Mungo Park.

(b) Mungo Park in Africa

Born in the border country, the son of a small farmer, Mungo Park was a typical specimen of the qualities which have planted Scotsmen far and wide over the face of the earth. Education from earliest infancy had widened his mind and fostered a natural desire for the expansion that comes of travel. He was educated first at Selkirk, later at Edinburgh University, and was fully qualified as a doctor when Africa first cast her spell upon him. At the age of twenty-four Mungo Park offered his services to the African Association, was accepted and sailed for the mysterious continent in 1795. He set out full of zeal to solve the problem which had fascinated and defied the geographers of Europe since the days of Herodotus. The young Scot was prompted by an intense love of travel and a desire to achieve some worthy aim in life. He started his journey from Pisania, a small village on the Gambia, with two native companions, versed in the dialect, one a negro servant—'Johnson'—the other, a boy—'Demba'. Carrying provisions for two or three days at a time he passed up the Gambia and crossed the Senegal. Innumerable dangers and difficulties confronted him; pillage and pilfering at the hands of the tribes he passed through; the cowardice of his servants; the greed of porters or water-carriers; hardships and hindrances on all hands, fever, semi-

starvation, thirst, each and all he endured in turn. He soon found himself among Muhammadan and slave-raiding tribes, and there his dreadful troubles began. He endured captivity, famine, and the harshest treatment from the natives. His description of his escape after four months' captivity amongst the Moors ends on a note of both humour and pathos. After getting away, and beyond fear of immediate pursuit, Park drew breath for reflection to find 'even the desert looked pleasant.' Still he struggled on, though hampered by weak health, without food, or money or a guide, in rags and dependent on the humanity of the natives, yet indomitable in his pluck and determination to achieve his object or die in the attempt. Then came the graphic climax to this misery. One July morning as he approached the town of Sego and strained his eyes for the first glimpse of the river, a native shouted, 'Geo afilli' ('See the water!'). 'Looking forwards', says Mungo Park, 'I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission; the long sought-for majestic Niger glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward.'

In July 1796, Mungo Park turned his face homewards. The journey back was as arduous and fraught with as many perils and privations as the first had been. Yet amid his bitterest hardships he maintained a patience with the natives that was marvellous, never once using violence in self-defence. A sense of the presence of God with him gave him a hopefulness that carried him through circumstances under which even a strong man would have lain down in despair and died. It was when he had been stripped almost naked by robbers and left in the desert hundreds of miles from help, that he saw that moss which inspired him

with faith in God's providence (a story which has helped the faith of many another tried soul since) and sent him on regardless of hunger and fatigue. 'At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss in fructification irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to show from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves and capsula, without admiration. 'Can the Being (thought I) who planted, watered and brought to perfection in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed in His own image? Surely not!' And it was this high spirit which never forsook the intrepid wanderer and sustained him even to the end.

Some excitement was created by Park's return home, but he was poorly rewarded by Government. He tried to settle down in Scotland as a country doctor, but he who has lived and suffered in Africa can never get away from her siren voice. An incident related by Sir Walter Scott, who was a friend of the great African traveller, shows where his thoughts lay. Scott one day found him standing on the brink of the Yarrow throwing stones into the stream and watching the bubbles formed by these as they sank. 'This,' said Scott, 'appears but an idle amusement for one who has seen so much stirring adventure.' 'Not so idle, perhaps, as you suppose,' was Park's reply. 'This was the manner in which I used to discover the depth of a river in Africa before venturing to cross it judging whether the attempt would be safe by the time the bubbles of air took to ascend.' In the year 1805 Park

returned to the continent at the head of another Niger expedition. This time he went under government auspices and received a grant of £5,000 for his expenses. Incredible as it may seem to us now-a-days, he started from the coast with a caravan of thirty-eight British soldiers and seamen, besides the leaders of the expedition. A company in all of forty-five Europeans and scarcely a single native with them. Disease and death quickly thinned his ranks, and when he finally reached the Niger, only seven of his followers were alive. Having constructed a boat from native canoes he sailed down the river. But after coming to the countries of Sokoto, among the Hausa-speaking natives, the enmity of the people increased. Finally, he entered a gorge which was obstructed by rocks, and there was attacked by the natives, and his whole party perished.

Two great characteristics distinguished Mungo Park, raising him head and shoulders above the long line of African travellers who had preceded him. He was possessed of an unwavering Christian fortitude, and coupled with that was an extraordinary forbearance and consideration for the natives, a quality of which we saw so little in those who first tried to open up Africa. In the years that came after, many were the tributes raised to his name and memory, but (to borrow the words of one of his recent biographers) 'the most precious tribute of all to the name of the great traveller is one raised by strange hands' (the work of a passing French gunner) 'in a land of strangers . . . the little iron cross that casts its shadow on the sands of the majestic Niger.'

Various attempts were made after this to trace the mouth of the Niger, but it was not till 1830 that Lander sailed out at its delta and proved that the

river flowed into the Atlantic. A highway to the populous interior was thus discovered, and a new opportunity given to commerce and missions to extend their operations.

(c) Discovery of Niger Delta

Despite the efforts of Mungo Park and others like-minded, Africa was still, however, a prey to adventurers who sought only their own profit with little regard for the advancement of the country or its luckless inhabitants. Slaves, ivory and gold formed the burden of their dread litany ; exploitation continued rampant.

Plans for the Regeneration of Africa

(a) Fowell Buxton

The conscience of England was now gradually awakening to the wrongs that were being inflicted on Africa. Government had at last been roused to action and, with a patrol of cruisers on the West Coast, was carrying out repressive and punitive measures against the over-seas traffic in slaves. Yet the traffic went on with fearful volume. Deeply meditating on these things, Fowell Buxton seized the idea that 'the deliverance of the African is to be accomplished through her own resources.' He saw that the traffic in slaves was fettering all commercial prosperity in Africa, and that if it were to be stopped a better merchandise must first be found, which would not impoverish but enrich the land and show chiefs that it is more profitable to retain their people for the development of the natural resources than to sell them off to the slave-traders. 'It is the Bible and the plough,' he said, 'that must regenerate Africa.'

Using the new interest that had been created in the Niger, he issued his proposals for the formation of a new African Association which would establish commercial relations with the African chiefs in

whose dominions the slave traffic was carried on. A model farm was to be established at the junction of the Niger and the Benue. Government was to do its part, commercial companies their part, and the missionary societies were to evangelize the natives.

In 1840 the Association was formed under distinguished auspices, Prince Albert presiding at the great meeting in Exeter Hall. Thus the crass indifference of the previous centuries changed to a general and indiscriminating benevolence, which Dickens wittily satirized in *Bleak House*.

A richly-equipped expedition sailed for Africa in 1841 in three ships specially built for the purpose. Scientists, traders, and missionaries accompanied them. The steamers entered the Niger and sailed up one or two hundred miles. Treaties were concluded with some of the chiefs, and valuable information was gathered. But disaster soon closed round them. Fever carried off forty-two white men in two months. The model farm was started at Lokoja, but before long the men in charge had to retire in broken health, and the expedition ended in disastrous failure. Its name became a by-word, and Buxton never recovered from the disappointment.

All things have their price, and the regeneration of Africa was not to be cheaply bought. Too many had fought for her benefits with little thought of the effect on the land itself. Too many had exploited her resources and her peoples with no aim but that of self-seeking and personal enrichment.

(b) Macgregor Laird

Among those who were ready to risk their worldly fortune to save the land and make some reparation for the hideous evils of the past, we must mention a philanthropic Scotsman, by name, Macgregor Laird. He had been seized by the possibili-

ties of the Niger, and had made many attempts to develop trade there. All his available capital was spent in his endeavours, which met with failure after failure. In 1854 he sent out a small steamer, which included amongst its passengers the negro clergyman, Samuel Crowther, who had also been in the African Association's expedition. The experiences of the past were not lost, several precautions were taken to avoid the disasters which had met the previous attempt, and as a result the little *Pleiad* sailed up the Niger and Benue, remaining there for several months without losing a single member of the crew.

Several invitations were given by native chiefs to enter the land with the gospel, and the Church Missionary Society sought to respond. The difficulty, however, was to maintain communication with the outside world Mr. Laird brought pressure to bear on the Government, and at last, in 1856, Lord Palmerston agreed to send a steamer up the Niger once a year. With this means of communication, trading stations and mission stations were opened. But just as the commercial undertaking was coming in sight of success, Mr. Laird died, and with his death the progress of civilization on the Niger well-nigh collapsed. The consular agent --Dr. Blaikie--still remained, however, at his settlement of Lokoja, and missionaries established themselves near the trading factories. But for long periods together the little colony was cut off from the outside world.

A number of trading companies now began to come to the Niger delta. Their competition was, however, so deadly that the natives were soon masters of the situation, and goods were bartered for guns and gin as the most desired commodities. Commerce then ceased to work for the regeneration

of Africa and began to make itself felt as a curse. Attempts were made to revive the philanthropic aims of Mr. Laird, and some larger companies entered this sphere. But it was not until another great leader appeared that the trade of the Niger was purified and extended to the higher reaches of the river.

(c) Sir George Goldie

Sir George Taubman Goldie first visited the Niger in 1877, and he instantly saw the evils that arose from disastrous competition. He set about amalgamating all the trading firms, and buying out the French companies and at last was able to float the National African Company with a capital of £1,000,000. He then applied for a royal charter, and his company became the Royal Niger Company with immense territorial rights. Under the active administration of this Company vast regions were thrown open to trade, and the closure which slave-raiding tribes had put on all progress was removed by successful military expeditions which broke their power.

Extension of Commercial Activity

British activity on the Lower Niger greatly stimulated the enterprise of the French nation, and at this period they were rapidly developing the country that extended from the Senegal and Gambia to the upper sources of the Niger. In the fifties and sixties Paul du Chaillu had explored the Gaboon and the forest regions of equatorial Africa. His accounts were greatly doubted at the time. Wonderfully vivid descriptions of the life of man and beast, however, are to be found in his books, and his scientific collections are unsurpassed for their richness and for the new and amazing forms they reveal.

In South Africa the land was being rapidly opened up, not so much by the vigour and heroism of

one or two explorers, as by the gradual increase of the population, and various political disturbances. Large companies of farmers, some of them through discontent with British rule, others from a restlessness and land hunger which could not be satisfied with the occupied tracts of the colony, were gradually pushing their way further and further north. The Orange river and the Vaal were crossed, and they settled in lands where fierce tribes had formerly had undisturbed possession. Their progress was not unarrested, and frequently severe fighting took place between these restless farmers and the untamed tribes around them The early missionaries were also gradually adding to the world's knowledge of South Africa. Dr. Moffat explored the whole of Bechuanaland, and travelled as far north as the wild land of the Matabele, and his journeys, undertaken simply from zeal for the gospel, opened roads which were never closed again.

David Livingstone

It was reserved, however, for another and later comer to make the chief additions to our geographical knowledge of South and Central Africa. David Livingstone, the greatest figure of modern history in Africa, was born near Glasgow in 1813. He received an excellent education, worked for years in cotton mills in summer, qualified fully as a medical missionary, and went out to Africa in 1840, at the age of twenty-eight. For the next thirty-three years he devoted his whole life and energies to the service of Africa. He laboured at several mission stations, and when the severe toil of starting and preparing was barely accomplished, passed on to fresh ventures, leaving others to enter into the fruit of his work. He made various journeys of exploration, each fraught with hardships unknown to

travellers of to-day. Twice he crossed Africa, from east to west, and then back again.

There is deathless interest in the story of the little plain Scot, a son of the people, brought up in a fine native tradition of God-fearing and hard work, who went out to Africa, and, unsupported and unknown, achieved more by his persistence than armies and nations had hitherto effected. Alone he set forth to solve the mystery enshrouding the vast continent; alone wandered out to face perils and hardships that stagger credulity. In crossing tropical Africa Livingstone accomplished the greatest geographical feat of modern times. The story is unmatched in annals of travel for its splendid courage and silent heroism. Unwavering Christian faith bore up Livingstone through all vicissitudes, and this, coupled with a marvellous enthusiasm for his mission, carried him through situations which would have defeated any other. In character he was noted for tenacity to his word, unbaffled endurance and perseverance, and undying gratitude for any kindness shown to him or his. He gave his life, his means, his all, to further the aim he set above all else, namely, the great work of lightening the darkness enshrouding the millions of Central Africa.

In every age and country there have never been wanting exponents of that spirit of pure devotion to some high cause which triumphs over all obstacles. Livingstone, imbued with this white heat of missionary fervour, the missionary spirit in its purest form, wandered through tribes and courts of native chiefs. Even the most debased savages recognized in their dim fashion the strange power of this rough-hewn ragged traveller 'whose method as a missionary and an explorer was based on rules of unfailing justice, good feeling and good manners.'

He passed unscathed through the kraals and camps of the fiercest natives, seldom failing to win attachment even service from individuals.

Again and again Livingstone experienced loneliness, discouragement, the awful depression of African fever, the deadly spiritual dryness that came from utter isolation for months together, with no companionship save that of the handful of native porters whose unenlightened intelligences were but little higher than those of the beasts which they pursued or from which they fled. Some years of African experience, however, convinced Livingstone that before missionary enterprise in Africa must come geographical exploration. 'The end of the geographical feat is the beginning of missionary enterprise;' and, in pursuance of this he determined on a certain course. 'I will open a path into the interior or perish!' he declared, and with this purpose he set out on those travels which, with brief intermissions, were to be pursued till death brought him rest.

(a) His Missionary Travels

In a missionary journey, after toiling for two months across the arid waste of the Kalahari desert, he saw Lake 'Ngami. This discovery was a mere incident in his effort to reach the Makololo. After three attempts he finally reached their chief's kraal. In these journeys he had served his apprenticeship in exploration, and was soon out again pressing into untrodden regions.

The Makololo were living far north of the trading routes of South Africa. Between them and the commercial markets lay the dreaded Kalahari desert, on which many a party of colonials and natives had perished of thirst, and where Livingstone almost lost the lives of himself and his family.

Livingstone felt that 'no permanent elevation of a people can be effected without commerce,' and he had to face the fact that to the south there was no outlet for the stores of ivory and cattle which the Makololo possessed. There was no inducement to agricultural development when the markets were so distant, and the expense of European goods was so great that no European could live there, at least on a missionary salary, without descending to the level of the natives themselves.

He therefore determined to try to find a route to the markets of the West Coast, and started with a company of his people for the unknown lands that lay between him and the sea. He felt that God was pushing him out on a mission which was inseparably linked to the work of evangelization and he wrote: 'I will go, no matter who opposes.'

He reached the Zambesi, travelled up its banks, amazed to find it flowing from so northerly a direction. He passed through tribe after tribe, hospitably received among the pagans who were free, but opposed, threatened and harassed wherever the slave-trader was accustomed to travel. 'It may be a coincidence,' he wrote, 'but we never suffered from impudence, loss of property, or were endangered, unless among people familiar with slaving.' This also was the experience of Mungo Park and other travellers.

At last, out of many dangers, from climate, famine, and inhospitable people, he emerged at Loanda on the West Coast, in rags and poverty, his body worn to a skeleton with disease. Starting back from the West Coast, after practically demonstrating to his men how much more profitable a market for their ivory could be found on the West Coast, he returned to the country of the Makololo.

He was not quite satisfied with what he had found in the west, though he knew that no other traveller need suffer again as he had done by his inexperience. So, after a short stay with the Makololo, he started out again for the Zambesi, and travelled to the East Coast. It was on this journey he saw the marvel of the Victoria Falls. His progress down the Zambesi was one of great danger. Time and again he seemed to see death awaiting him, and the rabid hatred of white men that the Portuguese slave-raiding had created, caused him frequent peril. At last, in May 1856, he reached Quilimane, nearly four years after he left his wife at Cape Town before starting out on his journey.

Livingstone combined to a wonderful degree the labours of a missionary, a physician, an explorer, a scientist, and a linguist. Amongst his chief discoveries were Lakes 'Ngami and Nyasa, and the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi. The results of his journey across Africa were tremendous for many reasons. He was the first European to cross Africa, to reveal the course of the Zambesi and the wonders of the Victoria Falls, but these things alone did not make his journey have such profound effect. It was also the amazing revelation of the kind of land that existed in Central Africa. Hitherto men had imagined it to be the poorest of continents, whose central and southern regions were little more than a great Sahara, a region of sandy deserts into which rivers ran and were lost. During Livingstone's journeys in 1852-6, 'it was found to be a well-watered country, with large tracts of fine fertile soil covered with forest, and beautiful grassy valleys, occupied by a considerable population.'

But Livingstone's explorations never ended in mere geographical information. His observations

were detailed and accurate beyond most travellers, but his interest was above all in the future of the natives who inhabited the lands he saw. Wherever he went, he opened doors by which others might enter. His appeal to the students at Cambridge on his first visit home echoed through England and is as poignant to-day as it was half a century ago. 'I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun; *I leave it with you.*'

(b) His Later Journeys

He started out again in 1858 for the Zambesi to extend our knowledge of the resources of Central and East Africa, and to improve our acquaintance with the native people, with a view to introducing them to lawful commerce and Christian missions. During this expedition he discovered the Shiré River, Lake Chilwa, and Lake Nyasa, effectively opened up to the world regions which had been wantonly sealed by the Portuguese, and eventually caused the closed waterways of Central Africa to be recognized as highways free to all nations. But all his discoveries were overshadowed by the havoc of the slave trade, for now he saw it at its fountain head, decimating the population, and turning prosperous valleys into desolations, and it was his revelations of the awful facts of the interior that roused Europe to check the trade more effectively. Exploring expeditions, the establishment of European protectorates, and the pushing forward of legitimate commerce in Eastern and Central Africa were all results of those patient journeys and his strong appeals to overthrow the Arab and Portuguese slavers.

Space does not permit of a detailed description of Livingstone's later journeys. The story of

Stanley's search expedition is familiar to all. Before it, Livingstone had twice visited England for short intervals, when he was loaded with honours and received everywhere as a hero, but his only idea was to rouse interest and help for the land of his adoption. This task accomplished, he returned to devote his remaining years to Africa regardless of the honourable ease that might justly have been his at home. Worn out by sickness and travel, he died in May 1873 at Ilala on Lake Bangweolo, far from home or countrymen, tended only by faithful native porters.

(c) His Contribution to Africa

Livingstone's gift to Africa is incalculable. 'Fire, water, stone wall, would not stop Livingstone in the fulfilment of any recognized duty.' He 'never turned his back, but marched breast forward,' deaf to the plaudits of far-away England, blind to any allurement of wealth or fame, striving only for the good of millions of fellow creatures who must be brought to the Christ whose humble faithful follower he was. Livingstone it was whose hand unlocked the sealed portal of Africa. He unveiled the hidden interior. He revealed to what extent the awful evil of the slave trade was laying the land waste throughout. Thanks to his efforts Europe was aroused at last to late effective measures for repressing this scourge. He was the first to draw attention to Africa's two great plagues: fever and the Tsetse Fly. But he did far more. Wherever he went he spread and left behind him a gracious influence which made the path easy for any European who should follow. In his achievements and all their possibilities for Africa a marvellous variety of enterprises found their inspiration. Administrators, missionaries, explorers, traders followed in his steps,

and his death consecrated Europe to the redemption of Africa. The result mainly attributable to Livingstone's work and influence may be summed up in a foreigner's words: 'In the nineteenth century the white has made a man out of the black; in the twentieth century, Europe will make a world out of Africa.'

What then was the secret of Livingstone's wonderful achievement? He set out, as we have seen, alone, unsupported by wealth or worldly influence, with no experience to guide him, and yet in the space of a fleeting generation set forces working whose power and limits no sage observer would dare to estimate, whose effects are for all time. Amongst the various conclusions that may be drawn one is unquestionable. Livingstone's attitude towards Africa breathed a wider and higher spirit than any of his predecessors had reached. He came to give, not to get, and the measureless bounty of his spirit left inexhaustible treasures behind.

Further Opening up of East and Central Africa

Before Livingstone had started on his first expedition to the Zambesi, two German missionaries of the Church Missionary Society had made explorations which had considerable results for the future of East and Central Africa. Starting out from their station near Mombasa, Krapf and Rebmann had undertaken a missionary tour to the interior, and had seen the snow-clad mountains of Kilimanjaro and Kenia. The fact was only incidentally mentioned in their missionary reports, but it attracted wide attention in Europe and was received with great incredulity and ridicule. Shortly afterwards Rebmann sent home a map of the interior, drawn from the reports of Arab traders, on which was laid down a great

sea, 'like a monster slug,' in the heart of Africa. When the map was exhibited in the Geographical Society's rooms, it excited a peculiar interest and in 1856 Speke and Burton were dispatched to investigate and discover this reported inland sea. The missionaries were now the means of turning the whole tide of exploration, for they had demonstrated that the interior of the continent was more accessible from the east coast than from the west, and now all the greatest expeditions started from the east. Other explorers followed the missionaries. First, Speke and Burton, who discovered Tanganyika and the southern end of Victoria Nyanza. Speke again returned to explore the Nile with Grant. Meanwhile Sir Samuel and Lady Baker exploring on their own account discovered the Albert Nyanza and solved the last of Africa's ancient geographical problems, the sources of the Nile.

H. M. Stanley

Finally came H. M. Stanley, whose journey to Central Africa bore extraordinary fruit in the opening up of the continent. As we have seen, his previous visit to Africa rescued Livingstone, and now again we find him in the heart of Africa. He started from Mombasa, and in April 1875 arrived in Uganda. He spent a long time at the court of Mtesa, whom he found grown into a steady and thoughtful man, very different from the vain youth whom Speke and Grant had visited. He had embraced Islám, but Stanley told him that there was a far higher religion, and taught him the Christian truths. This incident prompted Stanley's famous letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, challenging Christendom to send a mission to Uganda. The challenge was accepted by the Church Missionary Society and the following year the first missionary party was dispatched. Before the committee of the

Church Missionary Society finally resolved to open the mission, they were warned by men of experience in African affairs, that while Stanley might succeed in making a journey overland of a thousand miles to Uganda, others might find it an impossible task, and that after getting the missionaries there, the difficulty would be to maintain lines of communication with them. Physically the route presented great dangers, and there were wild tribes, such as the Masai, who would seek to close the path, and put the caravans in grave danger of being exterminated. The risks, however, were taken, and missionaries were sent. In after years, when all communication with the interior was cut off, and when the deaths of the missionaries, and the unsettled condition of the country seemed to make the maintenance of the mission impossible, grave fears were entertained that Uganda would require to be abandoned, yet the story of this centre is a red-letter page in the annals of African missions. The names of Alexander Mackay and Bishop Hannington rank with that of Livingstone in the list of those who have given their lives for the peoples of Africa.

Stanley left Victoria Nyanza in 1876 and travelled to Tanganyika, circumnavigating the lake and thoroughly exploring its coast line. Immediately thereafter the London Missionary Society accepted the offer of Mr. Arthington of Leeds, of £5,000 towards the purchase of a steamer and the establishment of a mission station somewhere on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, and from that date the tribes around the lake, which Burton had first seen in 1857, came into ever-increasing touch with the commerce of Europe and the messengers of the Christian Church. Leaving Tanganyika, Stanley struck the waters of the Congo in 1877, and floating

down this mighty river for a thousand miles until he came to the Cataracts, he opened up an enormous territory which no white man had ever seen before, to which access was easily obtained by navigable waterways of fourteen thousand miles. The immediate result of Stanley's discovery was the establishment of the Congo Mission by the Baptist Missionary Society, who were greatly helped to this step by Mr. Arthington, the friend of pioneer missions. Next followed the foundation of the Congo Free State, when King Leopold of Belgium, whose imagination had been fired by Stanley's exploits, employed the great traveller as his emissary in founding this state. Thus administration and trade were initiated in the Congo Free State.

Thus inch by inch we have seen how Africa was at last unveiled to the eyes of Christian Europe.

The Opened Continent

The agents whose efforts led to this opening of the great unknown continent have been numerous, their motives, varied, the results that followed sometimes gigantic, sometimes scarcely discernible. In the end, when the fulness of time had come and the Church at home opened her ears to the call and her heart to pity; when nations had learnt to some extent to lead them to something higher and not to exploit them to their hurt, then and then only did God allow the revelation of the continent. So many different agencies contributed to this end, but in each case where progress was effected it was through the spirit in which Livingstone and his like, before and since, have wrought.

Missionary followers of Livingstone have helped Commercial companies which worked for something more than financial dividends, and others which

sought for nothing more than money, no matter at what cost it was got, have helped. Hunters, like Oswell and Selous, who wandered far, afraid of neither man nor beast, and whose safety lay in their kindliness and courage both in hunting and their relations with the wild tribes to whom they trusted themselves, they also helped. Governments hungry for expansion and the glory of further possession, and governments pestered by philanthropic people into protective action towards down-trodden tribes, helped. At last, in spite of the exclusiveness of chiefs who hated the stranger, and slave-traders and Muhammadans who saw in Europe the deadly enemy of their trade and power, the barriers have been thrown down, and a great continent, with perhaps one hundred and twenty-five millions of pagan people, stands revealed. Africa's long, long night has at last ended.

CHAPTER III

The Hand of Europe in Africa

Analytical Index

FOR the European the story of Africa holds far more significance than the story merely of travellers and explorers. For good or for evil the

Africa of to-day is bound to Europe by a political relationship such as the early discoverers never contemplated. The first European adventurer who set foot on African soil welded the first link in the momentous chain of circumstance, which has extended, link by link, till the greater part of the Continent, north and south, east and west, is now joined to the main body of advancing civilization From the adventures of the early discoverers of Africa has sprung a tremendous connexion between Africa and Europe, which has grown and expanded with each generation. To-day Africa no longer stands alone and isolated, but her fate is bound to Europe by countless indissoluble ties. Nor is this a sudden development. On the contrary, it is simply the 'natural and inevitable result of forces that have been accumulating and growing in intensity over a long period of time.' What, we may ask, has led to the position Africa now occupies in the political and moral spheres of this twentieth century world.

Europe and Africa

For many long years the main retarding factor in the development of Africa was that terrible stain upon her annals, the slave trade. In a book of this sort limitations of space compel one only to touch broadly on the main features and divisions of a subject so huge in scope. Earlier chapters mention how Henry of Portugal's fine schemes of discovery and heroic enterprise were stopped by his followers becoming slave-traders. Portugal rapidly became involved in this deadly trade, and it is sad to find how this traffic was even condoned by Christian and philanthropic excuses.

The Slave Trade

Spain caught the infection in the person of Las Casas, the Dominican, known to fame as the

(a) American Slave Trade

'Apostle of the Indies'. In his zeal for the enslaved Indians of the New World discovered by his father's great shipmate Columbus, Las Casas sacrificed the Africans, deeming them the hardier race, more fitted for the toil that was crushing the Indians out of existence. He lived bitterly to rue this cruel mistake. Owing to his instigations the scheme of importing Africans to America was put into force. It was opposed by the Pope and the powerful Cardinal Ximenes on grounds of humanity, but the Emperor Charles V sanctioned it, and granted a licence to one of his favourites to import the hapless Africans. All too soon the evils of this importation became notorious. Las Casas, stricken with horror, cried out in his old age: 'The slavery of black men is as iniquitous as that of red men, and I fear the wrath of divine justice.' But no repentance could stem the tide of evil which had been set flowing. From Spain the taint spread to the shores of Britain. Soon England, with the energy that distinguished her in all enterprise for good or evil, was in the thick of the traffic, which increased in volume year by year. Sir John Hawkins, one of the famous Devon sailors of Elizabethan days, cousin of Francis Drake, is supposed to have initiated England to the disgraceful commerce. When he returned from his first voyage Queen Elizabeth expressed her disapproval of his forcibly carrying off Africans, and declared that 'such an act would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven.' But the price he got for slaves in St. Domingo was too great a temptation for his loyalty. By burning towns along the coast, and helping one tribe to make war upon another, he collected his captives. When Hawkins sailed to Africa for the third time in 1567, he went,

in fact, though not technically, on a national venture. From this day onward, Britain's share in the slave trade grew greater and greater. A hundred years after this we find Charles II and his brother James chartering a company to supply the West Indies with thirty thousand slaves annually. Britain, a little later, secured the sole monopoly of supplying the Spanish West Indies with slaves. By the beginning of the eighteenth century slaves left Liverpool, Bristol, and Plymouth to the number of one hundred and ninety-two ships annually, all bound for Africa, all destined to carry a suffering human load of captives. During the hundred years between Charles the Second's reign and that of George III over two million slaves were imported into the English-American colonies alone! Where did they all come from? From the shores of the Gambia and other rivers southwards of Sierra Leone, from the deltas of the Niger and the Congo. Thus arose that class of traders known as the 'Oil River Ruffians', who formed a great trade at the mouth of those rivers for guns, ammunition, and gin, exchanging these commodities for slaves. Indescribable horrors arose from this vile traffic. Terrible was the flow of tears and blood that resulted from this enslavement of millions of innocent men, women, and children. Whole tribes and villages were rapidly disappearing before the slave raids. Peaceable and prosperous communities were degraded to the destitute condition of the wild beasts of the forest. Gardens were uncultivated, and not a tree was planted, for there was no security of life or property. Old Calabar, where commerce has been going on for three hundred years, was declared by Laird, the commercial pioneer of Nigeria, to be the most uncivilized part of Africa he had seen.

The slave trade seemed to rouse the most cruel instincts in men. The brutal treatment which the chained slaves received from their masters as they passed to the coast beggars description. Nor were their miseries over, for there still remained the horrors of the sea passage. There were so great that scarcely one-third of those who embarked at the African coast arrived on the other side of the ocean. All that is best and bravest in humanity revolts at the record of cruelty and barbarism in which all connected with the slave trade were more or less implicated. Mothers were torn from their little ones; strong young men from aged parents. Regardless of all feeling and decency these poor slaves were driven from their country like sheep to the shambles. Any means were used to press them into the ranks of this sad procession. To what end? In order to add to the wealth and luxury of British sugar planters in the Indies, of cotton growers in South America. It is terrible to reflect that the fortunes accumulated by white people of those days were literally coined from the flesh and blood of the wretched enslaved blacks. That this 'sum of all villainies' should be tolerated by Europe, is an index to the undeveloped conscience of the Christian nations of these days.

(b) Movement for Abolition

Yet there were always enlightened men who regarded the whole business with detestation, and during the whole of the eighteenth century an agitation was on foot for the abolition of slavery, which gradually grew in influence and volume, until at the close of the century some of the foremost men in England were identified with the movement. A great step was taken as the result of the efforts of Granville Sharp, who contested a lawsuit in defence of a slave. He lost his

suit in the first instance, but was eventually the means of procuring Lord Mansfield's famous judgement in 1772, pronounced on behalf of the whole Bench, which declared a slave free directly he set foot in England. In 1785 the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge instigated a prize essay against slavery, which was won by Clarkson. Adam Smith, Dr. Johnson, and many others added the weight of censure against the trade. In 1787 a committee was formed for the abolition of slavery, amongst whose members were: Josiah Wedgewood, of china fame; Johnson's friend, Bennet Langton; Henry Brougham, and many other notable persons. Burke employed his eloquence to inveigh against it both in and out of the House. Finally, Pitt, the Prime Minister, took the matter up, thanks partly to the urging of his friend William Wilberforce, who became known as 'the authorized interpreter of the national conscience' on the slave trade. For seventeen years this man devoted his energies tirelessly to forwarding this cause. In public and in private, he pleaded for the poor slaves. There is a touch of romance in the tale of how, moved by indignation and reflection, Wilberforce one summer's day, under an old oak tree at Hollwood (a tablet marks the tree to this day), Pitt's country seat, formed the resolution to bring the matter before Parliament. Again and again he and his supporters, despite his great eloquence and immense personal popularity, were defeated. The 'most religious and wittiest man in England' had almost despaired of winning his cause, when the tide at last turned, and in 1807 the Abolition Bill was passed. It must be remembered, despite the support of Pitt and others, Wilberforce had to contend against practically the whole commercial body, and men of influence and standing in every great port

in England, men whose fortunes in many cases were directly or indirectly connected with the slave trade. A month after Wilberforce's death, in 1833, the Slavery Emancipation Bill was passed, and from that day forward reform crept on.

International action against the traffic had also begun to advance. Denmark was the first to lead the way, America and then Britain followed. Finally, in 1817, by international treaty, slavers were declared to be pirates, and British cruisers were given the right to search all slave ships and set free the captives. But no punishment was inflicted on the captains of the ships, and shipowners found it profitable to insure their cargoes, for a single slave landed in Brazil fetched £50. At length only two nations still held out, namely, Spain and Portugal. But Britain, whose hands had been more deeply stained with the traffic than any other nation, bribed Spain in 1820 with £400,000, and Portugal in 1836 with £300,000, to prohibit their subjects from exporting African slaves. The statesmen who accepted the money may have been honestly desirous of checking the evil, but their efforts were practically frustrated. In 1858 it was calculated that a thousand slaves a day were landed in Cuba or Brazil, many of this number, however, succumbing to the hardships of the journey either to the African coast or on the voyage itself. The American and Portuguese trader who ventured to run the risk of British cruisers, and successfully landed his slaves on the other side of the Atlantic, realized a profit of a hundred and fifty or two hundred per cent. So futile did the patrol system appear to be that agitations were constantly arising in Britain to stop so expensive a policy as an almost useless expenditure of money. In 1849–50 there was a great

revival of the slave traffic owing to the introduction of free trade, and especially the abolition of duties on sugar. The cultivation of sugar greatly revived in Brazil and Cuba, consequently the demand for slaves was raised, and it was not till the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888 that the Atlantic traffic finally ceased. By this stoppage Africa was saved, for immediately legitimate commerce began to revive along the West Coast, and in a few years it rose from an annual total of £20,000 in ivory and gold dust, to between two and three million pounds.

Meanwhile on the East Coast, as in West Africa, the scourge of slavery had decimated the land.

(c) Slave trade on the East Coast and in Central Africa

Here the traffic was prosecuted by the Arabs and Portuguese. Livingstone's record of his travels in the Zambesi region is an appalling record of burning villages, blotted-out communities, and dead bodies floating on the river so thickly that in the morning they had to clear the steamer's paddle-wheels of corpses which the gorged crocodiles could not eat. Such scenes as these made him use all the influence he had to stop Portuguese slaving. Pressure from London caused the Lisbon authorities to send instructions to the governors and officials in Portuguese colonies to withdraw from all association with this trade. Lisbon might legislate, and their orders be acknowledged, yet it was not convenient to obey, for every governor and official was deep in the traffic. It was the only way they could earn money to support themselves. Livingstone's denunciations naturally drew forth the ill-will of the Portuguese against himself, but the misdeeds of their colonies became so public that they were soon compelled to cease any open connexion with slavery The Sultan of Zanzibar,

however, still remained the greatest sinner. In the early seventies of last century not less than nineteen thousand slaves from Nyasaland alone passed through the custom-house at Zanzibar. 'And', said Livingstone, 'not one-fifth of the victims of the slave trade ever become slaves or taking the average of the Shiré Valley, not one-tenth arrive at their destination.' For besides those who passed through the custom-house 'thousands are killed or die of wounds and famine. Thousands perish in internecine war, waged for slaves with their own kinsmen and neighbours. The many skeletons we have seen among rocks and woods, by the little pools and along the paths of the wilderness, attest the awful sacrifice of human life which must be attributed directly or indirectly to this trade of hell.' At last, in 1872, Britain sent out Sir Bartle Frere to attempt a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar to stop the overseas traffic. The Sultan at first refused to sign, but a fleet of British French, and American gunboats appeared off Zanzibar, and then he yielded. This treaty prohibited the carrying of slaves by sea, but did not affect the domestic slavery of Zanzibar, nor did it stop the sea-traffic. Dhows still managed to elude the cruisers, and a ready market was found for slaves in Arabia, and by the Persian Gulf, as well as within the Muhammadan domains of the Sultan.

It is only with the advent of this century that the traffic has really ceased. If this iniquity was first started by independent European adventurers, who acted at first without Government sanction, but afterwards under special charters from their Government, the time at last came when the national conscience of Europe awoke, and refused to allow itself to be identified any longer with so nefarious an exploitation. Then, when the evil instead of

decreasing became too profitable, and continued to work havoc on the Continent, the Governments began to take official action for the suppression of the trade, and finding that cruising in the waters of the coast was not effectual, they entered the Continent, and began to administer large areas. It was from this desire to undo the wrongs of Africa that a good many of the protectorates were founded, and colonization was developed. The European protectorates' action proved the most effective means that have as yet been used. Germany carried on active operations in the east, burning down centres of the trade and scattering the leaders. Britain worked from north and south, until at last the main body of the traffic was crushed. The establishment of European protectorates has thus in some ways been one of the greatest philanthropic achievements of the nineteenth century.

(d) Modern slavery

But the traffic in human beings is not yet extinguished. Caravans of slaves are still conveyed from the interior of the Continent to the West and North coasts. So long as there is a demand for slaves a supply will be found. In the hinterland of the protectorates of the West Coast, especially in Northern Nigeria, where European power has not yet penetrated, slaving for human sacrifice, for domestic use, and for the markets of North Africa still goes on. Slave dhows still carry on a trade in the Red Sea despite the presence of three or four gunboats. Slaves are still carried to Tripoli from Darfur and Wadai in the Sudan. Slave caravans move along the Shari River, between West Africa, Central Africa, and Mecca. Slaves are still sought in Angola with the tacit consent of the Portuguese colonizers.

It is a relief to turn from this sad chapter in Africa's history to the brighter pages telling of colonial enterprise. Africa's emergence into the light of civilization is one of the most vivid episodes in the great world-story. Europe it was who first led on this path of development. The relationship of Africa and Europe was no mere commercial or even philanthropic one, though both were revealed in the slave trade and the movement for its abolition, but the connexion had gradually merged into the larger sphere of political expansion. Europe had sent her sons to Africa, impelled thither by the age-old land hunger, which has attracted human beings since the days of Lot and Noah. Africa had become the land of the white settler. Not merely lust for gold, or endeavours to right the evils which forerunners had wrought on this adopted country, but the desire to make a new home there brought shoals of colonists.

European colonization

Colonization in Africa started in mediæval days, when Portugal, the earliest and greatest colonizer prior to modern times, planted the flag and the cross on Africa's bays and headlands east and west. At various points along the West Coast she erected forts and opened trade, but the record of her three centuries of occupation is that of failure. It is a story of continued native rebellions and massacres, resulting finally in the ignominious retreat of the Europeans. On the East Coast matters were little better. Here the Portuguese had to contend against Arabs as well as natives. The prevailing gold lust seized on the colonizers. Rapid degeneration ensued owing to various causes, such as luxury, prevalence of slaving, fever, and all the drawbacks of residence in a foreign country re-

(a) Portugal

moved from the restraints of European civilization. Official corruption and the imposition of heavy taxes on coffee-growing and other industries strangled trade. Till within recent date owing to these causes the natives within Portuguese territory were the poorest and most degraded of any protectorate.

Although Portuguese rule was so ineffective it has left great results in Africa, especially by the introduction of many plants which have become the staple food of the natives and Europeans over a great part of the Continent. It was they who introduced the orange, the lemon, and the lime. From Brazil they brought the chilli pepper, maize (now grown over all Africa, even where the European has neither been seen or heard of), tobacco, the pine-apple, tomato, sweet potato, and many other vegetables. Take away from the African's food all that the Portuguese have introduced and he would be left very poorly supplied with the necessaries of life.

(b) Great Britain (1) West Coast

Hard on the heels of Portugal followed Britain. Nowadays colonists from this country are accompanied by all the panoply of civil and military authority. In those days of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, much bold pioneering was done by private enterprise. Adventurers and merchants sailed over the Atlantic, and crept round the West Coast, landing again and again, planting their gallant sparse little settlements, returning to Britain for further supplies of men and merchandise, slowly broadening and founding these stations. Thus arose the colonies, so familiar on the map, Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, stretching downwards and southwards to Cape Colony, a veritable Britain beyond the seas. The development of these colonies

varied, but in the main, the record is one of order and progress slowly evolving from barbarism and chaos. To the average man the words 'West Coast' represent a dim picture of natives, shining sands and rivers sparkling under pitiless sun, swarming with crocodiles. One's imagination runs riot in a confusion of gold dust, ivory, cannibals, torrid skies and a dim pageant of fetishism and jujus. These isolated details all belong to the reality, but British colonization has added much to the picture. The colony of Gambia flourished at first by the slave trade. The rivers of Senegal and Gambia, forming the principal route to the Upper Niger, provided the main body of slaves. When the trade was abolished the colony fell on evil days. Since 1843 its legitimate trade has considerably revived, and although there is but a small population of 100,000 the total value of the imports and exports now reaches over a quarter of a million pounds.

Sierra Leone, on the contrary, owed its foundation and development mainly to the abolition of slavery. English philanthropists started a settlement here for emancipated slaves. At first, the riot and demoralization of the young colony was notorious, but missionary societies set zealously to work and the Crown took over the administration. Despite the difficulties of missionaries faced with a welter of innumerable dialects, a fearsome climate, and general moral disorder, the colony has gradually risen to a state of considerable prosperity. Very much land yet remains to be possessed, in every sense, but the outlook is hopeful.

The Gold Coast was a region of similar drawbacks, harassed in addition by continual wars with the interior tribes. Yet its commercial prosperity is now out of all proportion in advance of the other colonies.

Nigeria is a familiar household word to British readers. In the past, two great evils prevailed, leaving a deadly trail. First and greatest, the slave trade; second, the palm oil trade, which was promoted through the disastrous currency of gin. At the present day Nigeria is a great colony directly under British administration, enjoying its benefits, developing under its fostering care. Wheat and tares have flourished side by side here as elsewhere, and until the importation of gin is suppressed, no real advancement in the arts and comforts of civilization can take place.

(2) South Africa

In passing to Cape Colony we come to a country whose soil teems with interest for every British patriot. Names are written in her deathless record alive with interest to every lover of the land. Great soldiers, able administrators, intrepid explorers, eager scientists, uniformed and plain clothes soldiers of the cross, of every order and degree, each and all have added their quota to the development of that dearly-bought, hardly-held country. There is a quiet grave in the lonely Matoppo Hills under that benign sky, a modern Mecca to English-speaking travellers to-day, where Cecil Rhodes, the Bismarck of African annals, sleeps his long sleep, unheeding the threads his fingers set aweaving in the broad loom of empire that widens on and on, controlled by invisible destiny.

When the Cape Colony passed under British rule the population consisted of about 26,000 Europeans, with 30,000 Malay and native slaves, and about 200,000 Kaffirs, Hottentots, and Bushmen. One of the first benefits of British administration was seen in the efforts made to keep back the tide of the Kaffir invasions, for the Bantu races were at this

time steadily flowing over the southern part of the Continent, driving the Bushmen and Hottentots before them. The first of the long series of Kaffir wars took place in 1809, and during the next three-quarters of a century these broke out again and again, arising partly from the restlessness of the fighting tribes, and partly from the advance of colonists into lands to which the natives considered they had ancestral rights.

In 1838 the passing of an Act freed all the slaves in South Africa. The Abolition of Slavery Bill passed thirty years before, had not affected the holding of slaves in the British Colonies, and this new enactment led to great discontent on the part of the Dutch Colonists, who were dissatisfied with the amount Government paid in compensation to slave-holders. This led to the famous 'Boer Trek' when they withdrew in a body from Cape Colony to cross the Orange River and West Vaal, and founded their new republics beyond these streams. The history of South Africa for the next generation speaks chiefly of the plough. The settlers then were mainly farmers, whose days passed chiefly in contest with the soil and with African droughts and cattle disease, and in contention with the natives who were continually raising disputes to prove encroachments on their rights. Then came a fresh impulse to colonization, when, in 1870, diamonds were found at Kimberley and white settlers flocked to the Colony. Men no longer regarded South Africa as a vast farm country, but with increasing eagerness they crowded to besiege a hidden treasure house. From this time the presence and trade of Europeans greatly advanced, and the natives began to feel the pressure of an ever-advancing civilization, which demanded large tracts of land, and an ever-increasing labour supply for the maintenance of its interests.

Slowly yet surely, civilization spread her subtle ramifications north and south, east and west, covering the country with a network of townships, homesteads, railways, mining plant, diamond factories. The old order was changing, giving place to the new with its hydraheaded phases of domestic, civil, commercial, and administrative development. Expansion everywhere; everywhere the waste was being planted.

Elsewhere in Africa this history was repeating itself. Thanks to the initiative of missionary societies Nyasaland was formed into a British protectorate. In 1878, the Sultan, impressed by Britain's victory and power in the suppression of slaving, effected a cession of all his mainland territory opposite Zanzibar. Thus in due course British East Africa was formed and added to the chain of protectorates this country was founding in Africa. After much initial difficulty it was felt that the administration of so great a territory which yielded so little return was becoming too costly. It was feared that the country must be allowed to lapse to its former uncontrolled condition. Then the Church Missionary Society entered the field and took up the cudgels so ably on behalf of East Africa that the British Government felt compelled to shoulder the burden and 'see it through'.

3) East and Central Africa

From East Africa one's eyes travel across the map to a region whose fame is notorious. Stanley little dreamt when he set forth to lay the foundations of the Congo Free State, that its name would one day be bruited across Europe as a synonym for the worst forms of exploitation and atrocity. The story had such a good beginning. Every read-

(c) Belgium and the Congo

er who has heard the name, knows how the great traveller went out primed with the highest hopes and most philanthropic aims, the accredited representative of an international European Committee, headed by the King of the Belgians. Stanley went out to open a new era of prosperity and development for the Congo Free State in which Britain was to play the chief part of administration. Stanley laboured to establish relations between traders and the native chiefs, to form possible openings and helps to those pioneers of progress, the missionaries. In 1885, the Congo Free State was recognized by all leading European powers. Stanley retired, feeling the task fairly started, leaving it to be carried out by English hands. Gradually, however, the international character of the state declined. The British, French, Portuguese, and German officials were replaced by Belgians. Several severe rebellions broke out in the Upper Congo, and the Belgian outposts were destroyed. In 1892, a notable campaign was fought against the Arabs and rebellious natives which led to the expulsion from the Congo of the Arab leaders. Before this time all the indigenous products, such as ivory and rubber, had become state monopolies. This crippled the independent traders and consequently all commerce was soon in the hands of the State. Then large tracts of country, with complete rights over the native produce and stock, and even over the lives of the natives, were conceded to companies, a goodly number of whose shares were held by the state. Gradually stories began to leak out of atrocities committed by these monopolists in the prosecution of their trade. It was said that, in order to increase the supply of rubber, hands were cut off from those who did not bring in a sufficient supply; that entire villages were exterminated, and that the police

employed were cannibals, not yet disciplined out of their savage habits, and that they were allowed, without hindrance, to devour the bodies of those slain in war. These charges were substantiated by a commission of inquiry, and by several independent British observers. Europe, roused to horror as these terrible stories of cruelty multiplied, was stirred to consider reform. Year by year the agitation grew in volume, and year by year dreadful details of the exploitation of the hapless Congo natives increased. Yet the outcry availed but little to lessen the iniquitous state of things, and the Congo butchers continued to take their toll of countless lives. One of the worst examples of such murders is that of the King of Katanga, a notorious slave-trader, whose country had been occupied for some time by the Garenganze mission. Finding that several expeditions desired to gain concessions from him, the King applied to Britain to establish a protectorate. Before his letter however, reached the authorities an emissary from Belgium, one Captain Stairs, arrived to demand Katanga on behalf of Belgium. When the King of Katanga refused to cede his country Captain Stairs summarily shot him and annexed the rich mineral land of Katanga to Belgium. It is impossible, owing to limitations of space, to cite individual instances of atrocities, but so numerous did these become, that the Congo Reform Association at last compelled Britain to interfere. Matters improved slightly for a time, but chiefly on the surface; underneath it the tide of cruelty flowed on. The advent of this century and the death of King Leopold, whose name will go down to infamy in African annals, promise better things for the Congo, but the country is terribly distant, and the tide turns but slowly. It will be long before this open sore heals, and it will leave

an indelible scar. At present more humane rule is bound to reflect on Belgian action in her colony, but there can be no sure cure till the concessionary companies are sifted or compelled to alter their retrograde standard of commercial methods.

(d) France

The French contact with the West Coast dates very far back. Traders and explorers were busy in the regions of the Senegal as far back as the sixteenth century, and founded several settlements. Most of the French possessions were lost, regained, and lost again during the Napoleonic wars. But after peace was restored they were given back to France. In the time of the Second Empire some attempts at expansion were made, but it was not until the recent revival of interest in Africa that France became ambitious. From the Ivory Coast she extended inland, and did great service by subduing Dahomey, a country which won an unenviable reputation for blood-thirstiness, and which had successfully defied British and Portuguese attempts to conquer it from the coast inland. From the Senegal she advanced to the Upper Niger, and by a bold campaign, in which she suffered severe losses, she conquered Timbuctoo, broke the power of the natives, and then descended the Niger, opening up a populous and rich land which connected her northern with her southern dominions. France is also making considerable headway in her administration of French Congo. Madagascar first came into French possession in the seventeenth century. Her occupation of the island has been a history of ups and downs, and ins and outs, but at last she is once more firmly established. Her retrograde policy in commerce and religion, however, has alienated the sympathy of Europe with France's efforts to civilize Madagascar.

(e) Germany

In the early eighties Germany entered the field of African colonization. At this time there was an awakening in Germany, a new spirit, a desire for colonies beyond the seas which would provide a market for her growing industries, and a home for the vigorous population. The first effort at settlement was in Damaraland and Namaqualand, in South-West Africa. The natives there, however, were unruly and the lives of Europeans were frequently in danger. Britain, who already occupied Walfisch Bay, on the East Coast, was requested to occupy and administer the whole of the surrounding unruly territory, but the British Colonial Office were unwilling to increase their immense colonial responsibilities. Germany, on being appealed to, instantly stepped in and annexed the whole territory. At the same time she took over the Cameroons and proclaimed her protectorate over a great tract of country adjacent to Zanzibar. In East Africa the German pioneers were commercial companies, the chief of which was called the German East African Association. They were not well led, and the Germans had not yet learned the art of dealing with savage peoples. The result was that severe disturbances were fomented by the Arabs and Swahili, and in a few months the Germans held few posts in the interior. The Government now took up the reins, and sent out Major von Wissmann, who succeeded in quelling the rebellions. He proceeded to organize the administration of his great province, and now, as German officials are gradually learning the art of dealing with subject races, the protectorate is approaching some prosperity, and considerable agricultural markets are being developed.

In the Cameroons and German South-West Africa the occupation has been a story of revolts and punitive expeditions. The Germans are not born colonial administrators and have had to learn several lessons, but peace and trade are now increasing in their African possessions.

(f) The 'Scramble for Africa'

Before Germany started her attempts at colonization, colonial expansion had followed a more or less even course of slow, uneager advancement. Britain had been quietly occupying her colonies and most unwillingly extending where she was actually forced to, and delaying where there was no pressure. Portugal was asleep in the dilapidated forts which still stood at the ancient points of her colonization. France and Belgium seemed to be content with their share.

The sudden action of Germany in annexing territory, however, startled the other Powers into activity, and there ensued the famous scramble for Africa, which resulted in a series of conferences and boundary commissions, which are now completing the work of exactly delimiting the spheres of influence of each Power in Africa. These spheres of influence divide out eighty per cent of the inhabitants of Africa and affect the entire pagan population. The claims of the Powers, which were readjusted at the British Conference of 1884 5, were founded on the following: prior occupation, exploration, missionary effort and contiguity of territory. France's share was three millions of square miles, with a population of twenty-seven millions. Her share is the greatest in area, but not in wealth or possibilities. Britain received as her portion two and a quarter millions square miles. Belgium a little under nine hundred thousand square miles, all situated in the Congo Basin, and containing an

estimated population of sixteen million souls. Germany got a huge slice of land, a great part of which is unfit for human habitation. Her area is over eight hundred thousand square miles, but only about six million people live within her sphere. Portugal, Italy, and Spain have together about one and a half million square miles, and a population about equal to that of Germany's possessions.

Results of European colonization

The future of Africa must therefore rest largely with Europe and her administration of the Continent given over to her charge. The results of this relationship during the last quarter of a century are thus of no inconsiderable importance if we are to estimate aright the part which Europe is to play in the elevation of Africa to a right position among the nations of the world. Has the administration of Africa by European Powers been for good or evil? Has it helped or hindered the evangelization of the lands?

(a) Good government

First there is the part played by government. Good government has achieved much for Africa's harassed peoples. Government has suppressed war, established social safeguards, fostered increase of population, and raised the general morale of the African, wherever it has had scope and sway. One of the most striking factors in African history to-day is the general and secured peace that is gradually extending over the whole country. It is true that the attempt to control the tribes, and to check slave-raiding and internecine war, has not been achieved by gentleness or moral suasion only. Where government unaided has tried to check these evils, war or a display of armaments has been necessary. But there are several cases, especially

in South Africa and Nyasaland, where peace has been established, and the raiding habits have been for ever abandoned, not by any costly action of government, but by long peaceable teaching of the gospel by missionaries who have preceded administration. Thereby many thousands of pounds and many painful pages of history have been saved. But when missions have not pioneered there have necessarily been petty wars and punitive expeditions before peace was established. There is not a single colony or protectorate which has not its history of fighting. Sometimes the wars have been caused by the persistent raiding of untamed peoples, sometimes by the struggle of slaving chiefs to throw off police measures that Government had taken to suppress the traffic in human beings sometimes through simple misunderstandings and lack of patience, and, unfortunately, sometimes by the atrocities of native police, or the wicked scheming of white adventurers.

Every picture has its darker side, and it is true that the expansion of empire has not always been prompted by high or disinterested motives. The reins have not always been guided by firm hands, and in certain protectorates, notably the Congo, pioneering has been synonymous with gross exploitation, with disastrous consequences to the native peoples. There are various undeniable evils, such as the condoning of slave traffic by authorities in Angola, and France's adoption of the Belgian method of parcelling out land to concessionaire companies who exploit the country with no thought save of selfish gain. Still the advantages accruing to beneficial government are incalculable. Vast tracts of country which the lawlessness of tribes and the havoc of slavery were fast depopulating have been given fresh life, thanks to European

administration. There are still great reaches in our hinterlands into which European policing has not reached, but almost universally, where the land is administered by British, French, or German, a new security of life and property has been established, and howling wildernesses are smiling again with the sound of village work and play.

(b) Commerce

When we come to the Government's control of commerce, again, with the exception of the Congo regions, we must conclude that the protectorates have worked in greater or less degree for righteousness and progress. The Powers have exerted an active influence for good in widespread directions and the prophecy of an enthusiast on the subject bids fair to be fulfilled. 'It is a new Africa brought within the range of missionary and commercial enterprise . . . matters are taking rapid strides every year, and if we mistake not future generations will witness miles upon miles of roads and railways. There will be large European colonies on its highest plateaux. There will be great cities and large manufacturing centres on its rivers. Wheatfields, cotton-fields, and coffee plantations will be found everywhere. The great and valuable forests of timber will be coined into untold wealth everywhere. Africa . . . let us hope and pray, will be covered with the white robe of a Christian commerce, and occupy an important place in the counsels of the world.'[1] What has commerce already done for Africa? Thanks to Europe, trade has been encouraged, harbours have been improved, roads have been made, railways have been built, steamers have been floated on rivers and lakes, and the means of communication have been so improved

[1] *Daybreak in Livingstonia*, by the Rev. J. Jack

that commerce is penetrating rapidly to the furthest recesses of inner Africa. Buxton and Livingstone, and all thinkers on the problem of the slave trade, saw that this penetration of commerce, and the means of communication would do far more than fleets of cruisers to stop the slave trade. This has been done by proving to chiefs how much more profitable it is to keep their people for labour than to depopulate their country by selling their people to be slaves. The merchants no longer need the great slave gangs to transport their ivory to the coast, when it can be bought in the interior by traders and conveyed by established lines of communication.

There is one terrible drawback connected with commerce which must be noted ere leaving this subject, and that is the liquor traffic.

(c) The liquor traffic

Drink was introduced not by governments but by irresponsible traders. In a short time it increased to alarming dimensions, and unfortunately Christianity became associated with the traffic, just as Islam is with slavery. The ship that conveyed the first missionaries to the Congo was loaded with a cargo of gin, and she discharged it and her missionaries at the same time. In the wild days when men bought and sold with no regulating government to control them, alcohol and ammunition were the chief and almost the only means of barter in the rivers of the West Coast. In 1884 seven million gallons of spirits were exported to Africa from Hamburg and Bremen alone. Gin was practically the only currency on the Delta of the Niger, so that if a man wished to buy provisions he must be provided not with a purse of money, but with a case or two of gin. It paralysed missionary effort, it swamped legitimate commerce, it demoralized the

people and it decimated whole tribes. At Bimbia in the Cameroons, in the early days of the Baptist mission, there was a population of 10,000, but as a result of the free consumption of gin the population has dwindled to two hundred in a few years.

What steps, one next asks, have been taken to limit this evil? Various conferences have been held by the Powers, but so far no agreement has been come to as to total prohibition of the traffic. In certain parts of Africa no spirits are allowed to be sold or given to the natives. This holds good of the East African protectorates, in the Upper Niger, and in nine-tenths of the entire area of the Congo Basin; but in Angola and Southern Nigeria liquor is largely imported, and the Portuguese in Angola have proposed supplying all the rum needed in West Africa from their numerous distilleries. Despite commissions appointed by the British government and others little headway in reform has been made so far, as the moneyed interests in the traffic are so great and the governments depend largely on the revenues derived from the duties on spirits. Yet the future is brightening. Germany and France are beginning to join with Britain in a desire for united action against this scourge. Africa can be best helped by total prohibition, not by raising the duty on spirits. This latter expedient does not affect the sale. In Southern Nigeria and elsewhere, despite higher duties, it is increasing. The problem of the liquor traffic is one of the most important issues confronting Christian government in Africa at the present day. The victory will not be won without 'dust and heat', and it becomes every Christian citizen of each Power that has undertaken responsibilities in Africa to see that no sordid financial reasons defeat the ends of righteousness and the saving of a people.

One of the most serious points of contact between the natives and European governments is in the control which governments exercise over labour, especially where there is a growing white population, and industries that require a considerable labour supply. In most protectorates, recruiting of labour, especially for any distant centre, is not permitted without a licence, and the conditions of the licence compel the recruiters explain to the native the nature of the work, the pay, the length of the labour day, the care in case of sickness, and provision for the return home. Commissioners are also appointed to supervise the relation of labourers and employers. Such stringent regulations are necessary if the government is to prevent private individuals from exploiting the natives for their own ends, for the tendency of a superior race is always toward taking advantage of an inferior one. Many a case is known in every protectorate, before labour regulations were made and applied with some vigour, where deception and perhaps violence were used to get the necessary labour for the European, and where the workers were so neglected that disease and famine carried off large numbers.

(d) Attitude to Labour

Of course the regulation of the native labour supply is apt to become a considerable source of revenue to a government whose chief asset is its population. Registration fees and capitation taxes, for men proceeding to the labour centre, are so increased that it almost seems as if Government were exploiting the natives. This is peculiarly so with the Kru boy, who is the most reliable worker on the West Coast, and without whom the coast trade could scarcely be carried on. The French Government, in whose country most of the Krus live, have charged a heavy fee for any boy

leaving the country, and the native state of Liberia practically robs the labourer on leaving and on returning. On the ivory coast a tax of 25 francs per head is levied on each labourer, and in French Congo a passport rate of 100 francs. In the latter state, unlike other French colonies, the natives are not allowed to work their own forest products. Other governments have also found it necessary to control this source of supply. When the natives of Nyasaland were allowed to tap the rubber in the forests without any restrictions, large quantities were exported by traders, but the methods of the people were so destructive that in a few years no rubber would have been left in the forests, and it was found necessary to apply severe restrictions on the gathering. Unfortunately, in the French Congo the concessionaires who control the rubber supply have been allowed to force labour by violent means.

In the Congo Free State the administration is unfortunately interested too deeply in the labour supply, and regulations which are to the advantage of government, but to the great disadvantage of the native, are in force. The contract period lasts for seven years, and for a breach of contract the native is liable to a fine of 500 marks and six months imprisonment. When the state railway was being built natives were taken by force to work on the railway, but were paid for their services. One of the worst types of forced labour systems until lately was that employed in Angola, which amounted to a practical form of slavery; but the new Portuguese Government has immediately taken in hand the scandalous conditions under which labour was recruited for San Thomé and Principe. The Republic has attacked not only the miserable conditions under which the natives live

or travel, but has also taken definite steps to prevent the forcible abduction of natives for work and to supervise further recruiting, so that in future workers will only go to these islands of their own free-will and be returned at the expiry of their term. The Republic evidently means to make these reforms actual and practical.

So long as the countries are governed by paternal administration, the officials should be perfectly uncompromised in their relations to labour, so that the people will always feel that they can appeal to the magistrate against any injustice that the employer may do them. Experience has proved, on the part of missionaries especially, that by a careful education the wants of the people are always increasing, and this means a greater desire for work that they may have wages to buy their necessities. There is no missionary or friend of the natives who would wish to encourage laziness. Without industry and commerce there can be no permanent elevation of the people. But the work must be voluntary and not forced.

The final result of European occupation on which we would touch is the suppression of barbarities.

(e) Suppression of barbarities

Magisterial courts in all the protectorates recognize native law in so far as it is in line with civilized and humane rule. But the atrocities arising from native superstition or custom, however useful they may have been in maintaining social order in barbarous days, are now being suppressed. The poison and other ordeals are made criminal offences. Infanticide, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and many evil practices are disappearing before the stern arm of European government as far as it can reach. The charges of witchcraft, which terrorized Pagan

society, are now rapidly disappearing. Many other brutal customs which rendered life a misery and claimed a dreadful toll of victims yearly are being rapidly eliminated.

Conclusion

All this Africa owes to Europe and her colonizers who have crowded thither from every sort of reason and motive to build up fresh social structures and develop a new country from soil hitherto virgin, unclaimed by civilized man. Such is the story of Europe's connexion with Africa. A story of failure side by side with splendid achievement; a story in which gross exploitation and disinterested devotion side by side have dug channels for Africa's future forces to flow through. It is the story of a battle-ground of conflicting forces ever at work. Looking back we wonder what lessons are to be gained from these unfolded results. In the past, Europe has wrought much evil and even more good. Much, therefore, devolves clearly upon her, in view of all she has achieved in the past, in view of the heroic efforts of our forefathers, to suppress the slave trade. The duty that lies before Europe is twofold: that of reparation for havoc in the past, that of preparation for right development in the future. One plain task confronts her. Weighty issues depend on her pursuance of that task. European character, capacity and experience can lead Africa to the 'strength and maturity of nationhood'. A momentous stage has been reached in the vast growth of the 'dark continent'. Europe must bring all her treasures of influence, insight, and experience to bear on the development of this great country. Europe has received her summons, and for weal or woe the trend of Africa's future will be decided by Europe.

CHAPTER IV

The Conditions Revealed

Analytical Index

THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA.
- (*a*) The Bushmen.
- (*b*) The Hottentots.
- (*c*) The Negroes.
- (*d*) The Bantu.

TRIBAL REVOLUTIONS IN EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.
- (*a*) West Africa.
- (*b*) East Africa.

THE BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS OF PAGANISM.
- (*a*) Idea of God.
- (*b*) Spirit-Worship.
- (*c*) The After-Life.
- (*d*) Fetish-Worship.
- (*e*) Sacrifices.
- (*f*) Witch-Doctors.
- (*g*) Secret Societies.
- (*h*) Infanticide.
- (*i*) Cannibalism.
- (*j*) Polygamy.
- (*k*) Drunkenness.
- (*l*) Life of little Value.

THE APPEAL OF PAGANISM.

The peoples of Africa

THUS far we have looked at Africa largely because of its close connexion with our European civilization and with many of the bright names in the history of our country. Africa has thus presented itself to us a united whole, and the actual

conditions prevailing in the country itself may have seemed to be of little interest. At first sight we seem to see nothing more than a seething mass of black humanity. As the mists and obscurity gradually clear, we learn, however, to distinguish individual grouping in what at first glance appeared a mere confused human mass of strange wild people akin to the savage beasts amongst which they wandered. Of the six great groups into which the population of Africa is divided, two do not concern this textbook. These are the Semitic and Hamitic, for the races who come under these headings are almost entirely Muhammadan. The remaining groups are four in number. The Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Negroes, and the Bantu.

(a) The Bushmen

The Bushmen, or Pygmies, were the original inhabitants of Africa. They are identified by some with the pre-historic savage of Europe. In the museum at Brussels one can see stone implements and drawings of the dwarfish cave-dwellers of Europe, which are exactly similar to the implements and drawings of the Bushmen. They seem to have come in a great movement out of Asia, divided into two streams, one going through Europe where they were destroyed by stronger races, the other passing into Africa. Signs of their presence can still be found throughout the continent, and, though they are fast disappearing, sections of the same race are known to exist in South Africa, in the forest region of the Gaboon, the Masai and the equatorial regions of the Congo. All the members of this little race present physical features which are totally distinct from negro characteristics. Their skin is a light brown and their average height four feet seven. Their habits are neither pastoral nor agricultural. They are simply

hunters who wander perpetually, living in caves or little huts of branches, eating the game they capture, or grubbing for roots and insects when meat fails. The language of the Bushmen is one of the most primitive forms of articulate speech, consisting chiefly of clicks and diphthongs. They have no numerals beyond two, and express the plural by repetition of the singular, as for dogs, 'dog dog'. Yet alone of all races in Africa they possessed high artistic qualities, and much of their history can still be read in the cave drawings and carvings which are to be found in many places of South Africa.

(b) The Hottentots

After the Bushmen came the Hottentots. They seem to have come down from the north after a great lapse of time. Their language has some affinities in general structure with that of the Bushmen, but they had advanced from the hunter stage to the pastoral, had increased in stature, possibly by mixture with negro blood, and had learned the practical arts of smelting iron and copper. Their earliest traditions take us about a thousand years back, when they were living in the neighbourhood of the great Lakes. The Hottentots called themselves the Khoi-Khoi—the men of men—as they prided themselves in their superiority over the Bushmen. As they increased in numbers they threw off little communities who sought new lands. But each community seemed to limit itself to a few hundred or a thousand souls.

The religion of the Hottentots was animistic like that of all pagan tribes. They lived in continual dread of evil spirits, and prayed to the moon for blessings. After contact with the Bantu they became worshippers also of ancestral spirits. They believed in two gods—one beneficent, who lived in

the red sky, and one malevolent, who lived in the dark sky. Their prayers were to the black god for he did them harm. They had a myth about the conflict of the red god with the black god—perhaps arising from the conflict of dark and dawn. There is curious identity between this belief in two gods with one which is found among the Masai.

Socially, the Hottentots were very degraded: 'a more improvident, unstable, thoughtless people never existed.' The greater part of the tribes became serfs to the early Europeans, and mixed with negro and other races so much that they became known as the 'bastard' race. Considerable power was gained by some of these mongrel tribes, and they occupy a goodly part of South Africa. Most of the tribes' names end in *qua*, which means 'the people of'—as 'Namaqua,' the people of Nama.

(c) The Negroes

The Negroes are the people who live chiefly in the north of Central Africa, from the fifteenth north parallel southwards to the fifth. They again divide into various sub-groups, such as the Sudanese, Nilotic and Ethiopian. To these groups belong some of the greatest and most interesting of the African tribes, such as the Mandingos, whose language was the *lingua franca* of the Western Sudan, where Mungo Park explored the Niger. Among other tribes belonging to these groups are the Hausa, whose language is spoken by perhaps fifteen millions of people.

(d) The Bantu

Now we come to the greatest group of all—the Bantu—of whom there are fifty millions in Africa. The tribes of this group extend from the latitude of the Cameroons south to the Cape of Good Hope. There is a far closer alliance between all

their languages than between those of the Negro group. The distinction that lies between members of the Negro group and of the two main races, while scarcely discernible physically, is so great linguistically that the Bantus of the Cameroon frontier and the negroes of the Niger, although living so near to one another, have no more in common with one another linguistically than English and Chinese. The word Bantu means 'people', and the three hundred languages and dialects which the people speak all show a striking uniformity of construction. The origin of the Bantu race is uncertain, but tradition seems to point to a northerly direction. They probably entered the continent long after the Bushmen had settled in its central and southern parts. As horde after horde passed down they mingled with the tribes they harassed or conquered. The race, therefore, is not pure and distinct; Negro, Hamitic, and Semitic blood are evidently mixed with the original stock. It was only about A.D. 800 or 900 that the vanguard of this race came across the Zambesi, and the main tribes who now form the predominant races of South Africa have mostly come since the occupation of the coast by Portuguese. One great horde came down by the west, and their names will be recognized by the prefix *ova*, which is simply the plural of the nouns which indicate people. The Ovambo Ovahereros, are just the Mbos, or the Hereros. The tribes of the eastern invasion may be recognized by the prefix *ama* or *aba*, as Amazulu, Mashona, or the Abapedi, Basuto, meaning the Zulu, the Shona, etc.

While Europe was exploiting the coast of Africa the whole interior was seething with revolutionary changes, swarms of savages were sweeping hither and thither in irresistible waves, under which

whole tribes were submerged and lost for ever to the world. Kingdoms rose under the organizing skill of some great warrior, who, by the power of his spear, affected a new combination of scattered peoples carved out a kingdom for himself, devastated great tracts of country, and maintained his power by the terror of wholesale pillage and butchery. His kingdom seldom lasted beyond the second generation, and then his besotted successors fell before the advance of some new Napoleon. People who speak of the happy innocence of the savage should read a little of the internal history of Africa, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries especially, and they would see how Africa ran with blood, and a night of cruelty and terror covered its people.

Tribal revolutions in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

On the west coast the Portuguese at the ports were sometimes startled by the appearance of the vanguards of tribes that burst through the barriers of the interior and carried desolation to the coast; these visits were but the spent waves breaking on the beach, but they told of a mighty hurricane of war which was devastating the interior, whose progress we can only faintly trace now. In the seventeenth century the Yaggas appeared on the coast. These were probably the Faris who had come from the north-east; they were a fierce cannibal tribe who spread along the Congo basin, south to the Loanda province, and north to the regions of what is now French Congo. As they passed on their wild progress they wiped out tribes and broke up ancient kingdoms, the old dynasty of the Congo falling amongst others.

(a) West Africa

Up to recent years the history of many tribes on the west coast is one of blood. The Dahomie, for example, with its Amazon soldiers, famous for their courage and cruelty, devastated neighbouring tribes, not so much for love of empire, as to find victims for slaves, and for human sacrifice. The capital was a city of human skulls, which were stored up in piles of thousands.

(b) East Africa

In the eastern provinces the Masai attained a position of great power. They were once divided into two sections, the agricultural and the pastoral. A conflict arose between the two in which the agricultural was annihilated. The pastoral formed themselves into a military tribe of which all the youths between seventeen and twenty years of age had to serve in regiments and abstain from strong drink and marriage. These hardened warriors spread over eastern Africa, carrying death and desolation everywhere. In the middle of the nineteenth century they had acquired great importance. They successfully resisted the slaving Arabs, and making themselves masters of some of the main routes, exacted tribute from all travellers or effectually closed the interior. History tells of a devastating horde of cannibals, the Mazimba, who towards the end of the sixteenth century arrived at the Zambesi. Here they split into two sections, one passing north-east the other crossing the Zambesi and sweeping southwards. The northward section passed over an immense tract of country, committing frightful ravages, until they reached the shores of the Indian Ocean. Here they besieged the Portuguese at Mozambique, wiped out Kilwa in the north and nearly destroyed Mombasa, but the Portuguese finally rallied and checked them at Melinde and almost exterminated them in

a crushing defeat. The section which crossed the Zambesi proceeded southward, sowing horror and bloodshed till they in turn were conquered by another savage host, the Abambo. Out of these ferocious tribes others arose, the most notable being the Zulus who were captained and led by a great chief, Chaka, about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Chaka formed armies out of the tribes under him, which over-ran and devastated all South Africa. At least a million people were wantonly exterminated during his terrible reign.

These tribes split up again owing to frightful dissensions among themselves. The three main divisions were the Matabele, the Angoni, and the Mantiti. The last named were the most savage of all these savage races. They appeared suddenly, formed by the welter of Chaka's wars, and were in turn wiped out, but not before they had caused frightful slaughter. The missionary, Moffat, to whom wild rumours had come of this savage horde, gathered together forces of the Griqua and Bechuana, and a great battle took place in which the Griquas fought with firearms slaying great numbers of the Mantitis. The enemy fought with desperate valour, single men fighting with a dozen assegais sticking in their bodies against a score of Bechuana. But in the end the invading army was broken and driven back. Now they spread themselves among other tribes, forty to fifty thousand savages, moving along in dense masses, parties scouting and seeking for plunder on all sides as they advanced. But the immense herds of cattle that they captured were not sufficient to feed this mighty army, and they passed on like living skeletons whose very famine drove them to fiercest brutalities, leaving their dead and dying strewn in the bush. Their

route for hundreds of miles could be traced by human bones, and soon they melted into nothing.

These are a few of the events that were happening in the interior of Africa, not, be it noted, in the centuries before the continent was known to the world, but in these last centuries, and in this generation. As Livingstone passed through such devastating scenes he cried, 'Blood, blood, everywhere blood.' His own peculiar people the Makololo were just such another tribe that arose out of Chaka's wars, flourished by marauding, were scattered or blotted out. When he preached 'Peace on earth and good will to men,' to the Batoka on the Zambesi, they cried out, 'We are tired of flight; give us rest and sleep.'

The beliefs and customs of Paganism

In order to understand aright the tribal life of to-day we have to turn to the beliefs and customs upon which that whole life is founded. The system is, roughly speaking, what is known as Paganism, and the future of this system carries with it much of the whole future of the Continent. To present a complete picture of Paganism is hard, for in spite of the gross superstition and cruelty bound up with the religion of Africa, there are many things that are 'broken lights' of God. Also there are social customs and individual characteristics that are wholly admirable.

But we cannot be blind to the utter inadequacy of Paganism to satisfy men. 'Though simple in form,' wrote Dr. Stewart of Lovedale, whose words were always cautious and measured, 'Paganism is a terrible fate spiritually, and an oppressive power under which to live. To all the ills of life it adds the terrors of a world unseen, whose agents are always actively engaged with human affairs. The poorness and hardness, narrowness and joylessness

of human existence in Paganism must be seen to be understood.' The religion of the African Pagan is animistic. His object of worship consists of souls or spirits. The Pagan worships and fears his own soul or souls (some tribes believe that each individual has several), and the souls of his ancestors. He believes that men, animals, plants, all the forces of nature, animate and inanimate, possess spirits which must be worshipped and propitiated. This worship may also include the belief in a Supreme Spirit or Supreme Being.

(a) Idea of God

He has a dim vague idea of a far-away Supreme God who created the world. Almost every tribe names the Great God, but none know Him. At the best, He is an absentee God who made the world and now takes no concern with it. Prayers are never made to Him.

In many tribes there is a belief in one or many sub-gods. These control some great natural element, and reside frequently in some awesome spot. There are gods of rain, of thunder, of the sea, and their dwelling-places may be on some cloud-capped mountain, in rushing torrent, or in thundering sea. In West Africa every dangerous place is the residence of a god, rocks and whirlpools in the river, swamps, the surf, etc. Their concerns with men are very intimate, and to them sacrifice and prayer are made by the priest or the chief of the clan. The occasions of the sacrifice will be before some great need, or under some calamity. Fear is the usual motive, sometimes gratitude for deliverance, but never the hunger of the soul for communion with what is good and holy.

Among all the Bantu tribes, and in many of the Negro, the spirits of the dead are worshipped. When a man dies his soul lives on, and that soul

is peculiarly active about the affairs of his relatives. Little temples may be prepared for his residence or he may live again in the form of a snake or a lizard, and abide in the hut of his relatives. In many parts of Africa it would be a capital offence to kill one of the snakes or lizards or iguanas which have become the dwelling-place of a departed soul. Offerings of food and drink are made at the grave that the soul may eat and drink in his new existence the things that delighted him during his corporal life. In some parts of the Congo region, when a body is buried a long stick is placed in the mouth of the corpse, and when the grave is filled up, the stick is withdrawn, and thus a channel is left through which beer and food may be poured. The belief is not that the soul actually eats the material offerings, but only their essence. Among some tribes the worship of ancestral spirits is the chief item in their religion. There is no order of priests to minister to these spirits but each family has its own set of spirits which are added to by every death in the family. Each spirit has its own responsible priest. The constant activity of the spirits is the cause of all the anxieties and calamities of the people. Sickness, drought, death and all disasters come from their malevolence. When, however, good fortune comes, the spirits have been appeased, and look with favour upon their dependants.

(b) Spirit-worship

This belief in the after-life of the soul (we must not call it immortality, for the soul fades off with the memory of the family) has led to some of the most awful horrors of African social life. The spirits live in some dark forest-land, or under the sea, much the same life as men

(c) The After-Life of the Soul

on earth. They must have companions when they enter the unknown world, slaves to maintain the chief's dignity, and wives to cook for him. Thus many a time the death of a great chief has meant the slaying of a multitude. When a king of Bakuba died, three hundred slaves were killed, and their bodies buried with him. When Chaka's mother died the rivers were said to run blood, so great was the slaughter in her honour. When the widows were buried it was not by a voluntary immolation, but by force and in the wild terror of the victim. Poor indeed is the lot of the widows, even when no such killing horror takes place. They sit for days in the hut with the decomposing corpse, and for months or a year afterwards are secluded, and forbidden to wash.

Fetishism and charms also play a great part in animistic religions. On the west coast among both Bantu and Negro people fetishism has attained an all pervading pre-eminence. The word *fetish* is not native. It is a Portuguese word, *feitico*, which was used for the little relics or images of the saints, and the Portuguese sailors adopted it to describe the charms of Africa in which they recognized some similarity. *Juju* is another word used for much the same form of animism. It is French, and comes from the word for a toy or doll. But those charms, which have so large a place in the religion of West Africa, are not influential because of any doll-like prettiness in them. Indeed the greatest jujus are intensely ugly, and are strange conglomerations of all sorts of roots, cloths, and broken ware. They are not reverenced for anything that they are, but for the spirit that has taken up his abode within them. This indeed is the essence of all the worship of animism.

(d) Fetish-worship

The old trees, the waterfalls and whirlpools, the mountains and breaking surf, are but the temples of some more or less potent spirit, and hence the worship of them. Every man has his fetish and a man's authority, influence, and wealth depend on its power. Some of the great fetishes or jujus may become enormously influential, and the spirits that dwell in them control the life not merely of the individual, but of whole communities. When war or pestilence break out, elaborate sacrifices are immediately made to the fetish. Charms are made for every desire and every need and danger in life—for loving and hating, for hunting and fishing, for sailing and walking, for buying and selling, against thieves and assassins, against wild beasts, against disease and death, and the terrors of the elements. These charms gain their supposed power from some special dedication by a witch-doctor or from being imbued with some soul-stuff. Even hair and nails are held by the animist to contain this essence of 'soul-stuff'.

The idea of sacrifice is common to all these spirit worshippers whether they reverence the spirits of ancestors for whom no fetish is made, or the spirits who dwell in elaborated charms. To these blood is offered. A fowl or an ox may be killed. In the south the blood is carefully kept in a calabash, and the meat divided between the villagers and the elders. In the west the blood is sprinkled at the door of the fetish hut or at the entrance to the village. And though food is offered, it is but the essence the spirit eats, the villagers eat the meat. The sacrifice is the blood, for 'the blood is the life'.

(e) Sacrifices

The greater the juju the greater the sacrifice that must be offered. Hence arose the necessity for human sacrifice. Oxen were better than goats, and

human beings than oxen. In Ashanti and Benin, and in the upper reaches of the Niger, the tale of human victims was terrible, and where European power has not suppressed it the custom still goes on. After war hundreds or thousands of victims might be offered to the great juju. They were his captives, for he had fought with the victorious army, and he demanded their blood. So also when disease swept through the village, the angry spirit was demanding victims, and the plague could only be stayed by satiating him with the blood of men.

(f) Witch-doctors

Surrounded as the native is by fearful and unknown powers who are the begetters of all his misfortunes and sicknesses, it is no wonder that the witch-doctor, familiar with the secrets of this hidden world, acquires a mighty influence. There are tribes, such as the Masai, and some of the Congo and west coast people, among whom the witch-doctor is the most influential man in the tribe. His decision is absolute and to disobey would be certain death. These doctors are not all impostors though in many cases they maintain their power by melodramatic impositions on the credulity of the people. The profession may run in families, descending from father to son, who guard its secrets most jealously, or by some prolonged and most arduous course of instruction the old doctors initiate their apprentices. They are usually highly neurotic men or women, perhaps with a touch of madness and a large supply of slyness. Their cures and influences may only be effected when they have worked themselves into an hysterical state, which possibly grips hold of the spectators also, and their wild appearance, with painted bodies covered with trappings made from

claws and bones and skins of wild animals, excite fear and reverence in the audience. Various are the functions of the witch-doctors. They interpret the minds of the spirits and can tell why they are offended and working havoc; as exorcists they will say what sick devil has come to the sufferer, and they will cast it out. Often also they have no small skill in administering native cures and medicines; but fearful is the pain they must cause at times when they pass from pharmacy to surgical operations. Dr. Nassau cited this case to Miss Kingsley. 'A man was accidentally shot in the chest. . . . The native doctor who was called in made a perpendicular incision into the man's chest, extending down the last rib; he then cut diagonally across, and actually lifted the wall of the chest, and groped about among the vitals for the bullet which he successfully extracted. The patient died. No anæsthetic was employed.'

The witch-doctor is also supposed to possess supernatural ability in the detection of crime. Here lies the main secret of his dread power. His word is law, and when a crime is committed he points out the victim, and the unfortunate wretch must then pass through some testing ordeal or suffer some barbarous punishment. In cases of sickness or misfortune the natives invariably suspect witchcraft. The witch-doctor is applied to, and paid to discover the author of the malady or misfortune. Accordingly he produces a culprit, who, whether innocent or not, must undergo some test prescribed by the doctor. This may be either drinking poison, or picking stones out of a caldron of boiling water, or some such fiendish device. Innocence is proved by the victim vomiting the poison, or escaping blisters. Failure to prove innocence results in immediate death. The awful

evil of witch-craft cannot be exaggerated. It has killed and still kills more men and women than the slave trade. The only escape from the penalty of these awful accusations is to fly to some neighbouring clan at enmity with the village where the accusation has been made, or to take refuge at one of the few sanctuaries among the west coast tribes.

(g) Secret societies

Another terror is found in the secret societies which abound in the west. Many of these are founded and centre round the cult of some great juju, and are the police who punish crime and maintain order. Others are bands of robbers and libertines, who by their secret discipline and loyalty, as well as by their supposed control of potent spirits, terrorize neighbourhoods. The initiation of youths and maidens to these secret societies are periods of hard endurance for the apprentice, and also of unrestrained vice. They menace, or absolutely destroy what little of modesty and purity might still be left after childhood in a native village. The dances, too, which beguile the bright moonlight nights are too often plays whose sport and climax are posturings of loathsome obscenity. As one has looked on these some clear night, when the villagers are gathered, excited by beer, the old women leading the dance, the little children looking on with wild laughter, one felt as if the air breathed of the foulness of hell, and one wondered how the whole social cohesion of the people is not wrecked by the moral rottenness of the school in which these little ones are trained.

Infanticide is common throughout Africa, where it has not been suppressed by Christian influence or European administration. The little children

whose upper teeth appear before the lower are buried alive or cast into the bush. In many tribes twin children are destroyed, as well as the mothers who bare them. The twin is reckoned to have returned to the state of the beast, and is cast away as an enemy. Sometimes the mother is spared, but she is driven from the village to live by herself in the bush, and none hold any communication with her. In many tribes when a poor woman dies in childbirth her body is cast aside unburied, for the hyenas to devour. And all over the continent this calamity certifies the guilt of the woman, and her name is only remembered in infamy.

(h) Infanticide

(i) Cannibalism

Cannibalism has been found in many parts of the continent among the tribes of the Upper Nile in West Africa, in the equatorial forests, along the affluents of the mighty Congo, by the Luapula. Among some it is a religious ceremony. The flesh of the human victim is eaten, just as the flesh of the ox offered in sacrifice was formerly. Among most it was a dreadful appetite. To satisfy the hunger for human flesh, internecine war was continually going on. In the Congo markets human flesh was always exposed for sale. The Fans eat instead of burying their dead.

(j) Polygamy

There are many other evils which are not atrocities, and therefore do not come under the ban of government, but yet are gangrenes in the social body. Polygamy may be excused by some as essential to the African. But where polygamy exists it increases indolence and sensuality. It lowers womanhood and makes family life impossible.

Drunkenness is all-prevailing, not simply from gin-drinking, for Europe has not introduced the

African to intoxication. He makes liquor of his own from palms, or bananas, or maize, or millet, and where beer can be got whole villages live in a state of intoxication for days on end. Drunkenness, daily, is the regal condition of an African chief. Drunkenness is the cause of nine-tenths of the crimes of violence that come before the native courts.

(k) Drunkenness

There is also a type of slavery other than the commerce in slaves. There is domestic slavery which prevails over the continent. In some cases this is only a mild state of serfdom which European governments do not disturb. In other cases the serf is the absolute property of his master, and may be bought and sold to others. The captives of war who were incorporated in the tribe become members of the household of their master. For them and their children the master may provide wives and gardens, but their children become the property of the master of his family. The owner is called 'the father,' and he is responsible for the conduct of his serfs. If they get into trouble he pays their fines. When their children grow up he provides the dowry for their wives. On the other hand, he can claim all or the greater part of their earnings, and they help him in hoeing his fields, and building his houses without any remuneration. He also receives the dowry for the girls who might be taken in marriage by others. Of course such a system has great evils. The power of individual progress is severely limited and great injustice is done to one who may in any way be ambitious of progress, or desire to retain his little children about him. Sometimes this serfdom is pushed to extremes which amount to nothing

(l) Life of little value

more or less than slavery. But in many tribes, if the master is guilty of cruel treatment of his serfs, the serf may escape to another master.

The bartering of human lives often occurs in marriage. Men who are rich in goods and cattle may buy girls from their fathers. They pay dowry, which is often simply purchase money, and the wife becomes the absolute property of her husband. In other tribes the system of dowry is a healthy and necessary protection for the wives, for in the case of ill-treatment the wife can return to her father's house, and the husband has no claim for the return of the dowry.

Another custom of pawning lives has become very common in West Africa. When a man has got into difficulties over a crime, or by debt, he pays sometimes by pawning himself to the creditor, or by pawning his own children. Thus for years, or all his life, a man may live in slavery, receiving no remuneration, and paying off his debt by means of servitude.

The appeal of Paganism

These are some of the horrors and diseases of African paganism. Yet the doers are unconscious of shame. There is no rebuke for what their religion sanctions, and their customs have become stereotyped. They are blind with no sense of what vision might mean. They grope through darkness as yet unenlightened by truth.

Animism, like all other phases of human development, has its lights as well as its shades. The terrible darkness of Paganism is relieved here and there by qualities and virtues not unworthy of Christianity itself. It should never be forgotten that Animism, base and terrible as many of its tenets are, is yet 'an effort of fellowmen to grapple with the great problem of existence', and we are

told by a great student of Paganism, that 'a longing and seeking for God runs through Animistic religion like a vein of gold in the dirty rock.' The Animist also does undeniably extract some consolation from following certain observances and rites 'meant to appease the angry spirit,' and has the satisfaction of feeling that he has done all that is possible to ensure harmonious relations between himself and the spirits.

Animistic superstition has also developed practices which have been maintained because they have strengthened the respect for governments, and thereby contributed to the establishment and maintenance of civil order. Such practices have strengthened the respect for private property, and allowed men to enjoy its possession. They have strengthened respect for marriage, and a stricter observance of the rules of sexual morality. They have even strengthened the respect for human life, and contributed to the security of its enjoyment.

Although it may seem on the surface a contradictory statement, there is no doubt that in the brutal condition of tribal life many an unfeeling practice and many an atrocity seems almost to have been necessary to bulwark the rotten society in which the native lived. This is illustrated by an incident which occurred on the Upper Congo. A certain man went mad with sleeping sickness and was very troublesome to his neighbours. They would gladly have put him on one of the islands in midstream and left him to starve, but superstition came to his aid and prevented the unfortunate man being maltreated. His neighbours believed that if anything violent were done, his spirit would return to trouble them after death, perhaps in the shape of a crocodile or a leopard, or by some evil and unaccountable smell, or mysterious noise, or by sickness. Any-

thing that tends to more humane behaviour must have its germs of secret good, and even Animism cannot be regarded from every point as altogether and absolutely evil. There is indeed a danger in the Africa of to-day that when European government and crusading civilization are suppressing customs which are immemorial but contrary to our ideas of justice and morality, the very safe-guards of social order are being removed.

Despite any 'vein of gold', however, we are thrown back on the over-powering and terrible evidence gathered by all who study it, of its terrible social degradation and misery, its lack of consciousness of sin, the very baseness of the superstition which yet blindly strives to fill the yearning for something beyond him, at times felt by the lowest type of human savage. We reflect on the close contact of Europe and civilization in these last centuries with Africa, and wonder what they can give to remedy this fearsome state of things? A yet graver consideration must force itself upon us. What message can Christianity bring to meet this inadequacy of Animism to satisfy the needs of men? For an answer to this question we turn to the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER V

The Hand of the Church on Africa

Analytical Index

THE STORY OF MISSIONS IN AFRICA.
- (*a*) The Moravians.
- (*b*) Pioneer work by the London Missionary Society.
- (*c*) Pioneers in West Africa.

THE NEW ERA OF MISSIONS.
- (*a*) West Africa.
- (*b*) South Africa.
- (*c*) East and Central Africa.

METHODS OF PRESENTING CHRISTIANITY.
- (*a*) Industrial missions.
- (*b*) Medical missions.
- (*c*) Educational.
- (*d*) Production of literature.
- (*e*) Preaching.
  - (i) Its value.
  - (ii) The appeal of the gospel.

WE closed last chapter with the question as to what message Christianity is bringing to meet the needs of Africa? For an answer to this we must turn to the story of what has been done by the representatives of Christianity in the past; we must also survey the work which missions are doing in the present. We look back to the pioneers of the days that are gone to enable us to grasp the

present situation and how it came about. We look to the present, the mission field of to-day, to teach us by its various agencies and methods what is actually being done at this moment, and to guide us in drawing some forecast of the possibilities still veiled in the future.

The story of missions in Africa
(a) The Moravians

The history of modern missions in Africa dates back exactly one and three-quarters of a century ago, when the first attempt of the Evangelical Church to introduce the gospel to Africa was made by the Moravians. These Christians have been described as the most efficacious and influential missionary organization that ever existed. They are pre-eminently a missionary church, and their chief aim is to reach the least advanced and more neglected races with the gospel teaching. Their main principle is striking in its good sense and practical Christianity. 'Let us begin by reforming ourselves and live in love with all the brethren, and with all the children of God in all religions.'

In the year 1736 they sent a missionary, George Schmidt, to the Hottentots, and for seven years he laboured near Cape Town, founded a tiny 'valley of grace' (Gnadenthal), collected a few Christians round him, but at the end of that time was banished by the jealous Dutch Government. Half a century later the Moravians, with unbaffled heroism, returned to the charge and started work afresh in the same memorable spot. They lived amid constant alarms. At one time they were threatened by a force of a hundred armed men, who had come not under sanction of the Government, but at their own instigation. They soon gathered about them a considerable Christian community, and their

work has spread over the colony and into German East Africa.

(b) Pioneer work by the London Missionary Society

In 1798 there arrived at the Cape Dr. Vanderkemp, the first pioneer in Africa of the London Missionary Society. So difficult were the means of communication in those days that Vanderkemp sailed in a convict ship, and took three months to a voyage which to-day takes less than three weeks. The unsettled state of the natives made his pioneer work very difficult, and he was driven from his first stations by native outbreaks. At last he settled near Algoa Bay, but here he had little peace from the Government and the Europeans. The colonists felt that his work for the natives was inimical to their treatment of the Kaffirs, and they believed that the refugees who gathered about the training institute founded by Vanderkemp at Bethelsdorp were taught to refuse labour and to be rebellious.

More favourable conditions prevailed when the British Government took over the colony, but persecution was not at an end. A tax, which ate up two-thirds of their possible earnings, was levied on the natives in Bethelsdorp Institute, and as the result of feeble staffing, the taking away of the men by force for work, and other causes, the Institute fell upon evil days. The London Missionary Society, however, steadily advanced its work in other quarters. Men like Moffat and Philip were sent who led the missionaries in a constantly advancing line until their forces were scattered over a region extending in area from the Cape to the far north hinterland.

In such a brief outline of missionary societies and their efforts in Africa as this is compelled to be,

special mention of any one society, even the foremost, would be invidious, but the efforts of the London Missionary Society were outdone by none of their successors. They planted and watered in certain instances where others have reaped. Only the close student of beginnings could at all appreciate what those efforts have been. Vanderkemp heads a long list of names illustrious in mission annals. Not only in South and Central Africa did the London Missionary Society sow a lasting harvest but in Madagascar, where they first sent missionaries in 1820 they have achieved success of a striking kind.

(c) Pioneers in West Africa

On the West Coast the Moravians were again the pioneers. In 1768 they sent men to the Guinea coast, but those all died in a short time. The Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies followed by sending six men to the Susus, north of Sierra Leone. Three died, and one was murdered by the Fulahs, and the mission was abandoned.

It was not long, however, ere the Church Missionary Society entered this field by sending missionaries to the Susus. We gain some ideas of the difficulties of travelling which had to be encountered, on learning that it took these missionaries three years to reach their field. They got there to encounter harsh obstacles at the outset in the hostility of the slave traders who regarded them as spies of their smuggling operations. Twice they attacked and destroyed the mission station and finally the missionaries were forced to beat a retreat. Work was then transferred to Sierra Leone, the colony which had been founded for liberated slaves, where riot and confusion prevailed. In spite of these unfavourable conditions, however, the work prospered, and in the course of a few years there was

a large Christian community. In this work the Wesleyans also had a share. They had, in fact preceded the Church Missionary Society's missionaries, for they had sent out their first party in 1811. Ten years later they extended to the Gambia River. Other missionary societies now followed, and slowly the work extended along the coast through recruits from Europe and by missionary extensions of the native churches. But owing to the difficulties of advance, especially the antagonism of the slave traffic and the great unrest caused in the interior by the intertribal conflicts, no work was done beyond the fringe of the coast, and there it was of the most limited character.

The New Era of Missions

It was with the suppression of the slave trade on the West Coast and the activity of exploration begun by Livingstone and Krapf that on the new era of serious and far-flung missionary enterprise began in Africa. From this time onwards the record of African missions is 'no barren series of Church annals but an account of a movement always in vital touch with the growth of Christianity or with the advance of civilization.'

(a) West Africa

In the West, Lagos, the last stronghold of slaving, was occupied by the Wesleyans and the Church Missionary Society. Expeditions led by Samuel Crowther, the first African Bishop, began to develop work among the tribes of the Lower Niger. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland extended its Jamaican mission to Calabar. The Basel mission got over its initial difficulties on the Gold Coast, and began to spread its ramifications further and further into the interior until it reached Ashanti. The Baptist Society

opened work in what is now German Cameroons, and from there extended to the Congo. The American Presbyterians opened work at various points along the West Coast and on the Congo. The American Board entered Portuguese Angola, and began work at Bilie. Further into the interior the Plymouth Brethren have been working in what is known as the Garenganze Mission in the region of Lake Miveru. In this wide field of West Africa there are now twenty missionary societies at work and a native Christian community of at least 175,000 souls.

(b) South Africa

In South Africa, the Wesleyans followed after the London Missionary Society, and in 1832 were organized into a South African Society whose administration is conducted locally. Two German societies were next in the field. Meanwhile, the Dutch Reformed Church was caring for the coloured population, but its great missionary awakening did not take place until comparatively recent times. The Church of England was represented by the agents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who began in 1820 working for the Europeans, but soon extended their efforts to the Kaffirs. The Presbyterian Churches of Scotland took up and developed the work of the Glasgow Missionary Society. In Natal, a large number of societies are at work, the first to begin there being the American Board. They were followed by Norwegians, Swedes, Germans, English and Scottish societies. In Basutoland the French Protestants have been resident since the beginning of the thirties, and have won a unique influence there. In South Africa there are now some thirty missionary societies and they claim a membership of a little over a quarter of a million natives. The

Government census, however, gives a far larger number of Christian natives.

Krapf was the first missionary to arrive in East Africa. He reached Mombasa in 1844, after having been expelled from Abyssinia. Out of his modest beginnings have grown the extensive missions of the Church Missionary Society with their magnificent results in East Africa and Uganda. In South Central Africa, missions were the direct outcome of David Livingstone's life. The Scottish Churches started work in 1875, and from small beginnings have extended a great sphere of usefulness in Nyasaland. In latter years the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa have also been very active in these parts. The London Missionary Society opened work, which has had a difficult history, at Tanganyika. The Universities Mission began on the Shire Highlands, but afterwards transferred their base to Zanzibar, and from there they have spread to the coast and across to the east shores of Nyasa. German societies have occupied stations in the hinterland of Dar-es-Salaam, and on the north-east of Nyasa. In East and Central Africa there are at least 50,000 native members of the Christian Church.

(c) East and Central Africa

These are a few bare outline facts marking the growth and advance of 'that great enterprise; the conversion of Africa to Christ.' First a few stragglers set out in the teeth of immense difficulties and with all the diffidence of pioneers facing unknown and utterly new conditions, to convey the Christian message to hordes of ignorant savages. For many of the tribes they formed the first point of contact with civilization. As Sir Harry Johnston, the well-known colonial administrator has put it, 'When the history of the great African states of the

future comes to be written, the arrival of the first missionary will, with many of these states, be the first historical event.' Often, however, they failed and seemed to have made no impression on the iron surface of ignorance and sin. Yet, despite all discouragements, they persevered and the number grew. One society led the way speedily to be joined by another, first singly, then in twos and threes, and ever increasingly volunteers swelled the ranks in the campaign where gains seemed always overshadowed by losses and discouragement. From these struggles and trials a way was paved for organized effort. Slowly but surely methods at first experimental were evolved and proven by the test of time and experience.

Methods of presenting Christianity

To gain an estimate of the Church's influence in Africa, we must study the means she has adopted to further her great end. In all missions the first stages of progress are necessarily slow. The missionary must grasp at whatever tool is likeliest to open the closed African mind and heart. To arouse spiritual interest he is often compelled to cultivate the craving of the African for secular advantages, and little by little train him to the larger view. What agencies then does the Church employ to gain and civilize the people whose conversion to Christ is her chief end and aim?

(a) Industrial missions

From the first, missionaries have worked by the introduction and development of industry and commerce alongside of the more purely evangelistic work in Africa. The backward and unproductive condition of African civilization has been the cause of all her miseries, for Europeans did not come to the African coast for anything that

Africa was manufacturing, but for that which could be picked up. First, it was gold and ivory, then it was human beings, and so Africa was producing commerce for the world only by stripping herself bare.

Philanthropists saw that if the slave traffic was to be stopped, Africa must work out her own salvation by the introduction and development of new industries. Men must be taught that there was more wealth to be got from retaining a working population in the land, than by selling off its people to slavery. Missionaries also recognized that there could be no permanent improvement of the tribes whom they sought to evangelize unless new commerce and industries were introduced.

Expensive and disappointing experiments have been made to raise the people by the civilizing influences of commerce, but if the world needs a forcible example of the utter failure of so one-sided and insufficient a method, it has only to look at certain regions of the West Coast. There for three centuries commerce has had her opportunity to prove what she can do unaided. With what result? The native has again and again been exploited by unscrupulous traders. He has been debased by the introduction of civilized vices, such as gin-drinking. Commerce pursued for mere monetary ends with no thought of developing Africa's resources for the sake of her people, tends merely to the destruction of the land and deterioration of the inhabitants. Commerce alone such as had sway on the West Coast for all these centuries has not availed to stop cannibalism, infanticide, human sacrifice, and a host of other evils. Indeed, there are parts where she seems to have left the people worse than she found them. Civilization alone is not enough for the moral regeneration of a country

like Africa. Too often it is mixed up with selfishness on the part of those who bring it; nor does it in itself contain the power which is required for the moral elevation of a people. The late Dr. Stewart has stated, 'If we are to try to make a New Continent, we must have a new man to put into it, otherwise it will be the old story. We may sweep the house and garnish it with such ideas, inventions, or furniture as the twentieth century can supply. Yet with all this there is no guarantee that the renewed continent may not be, if not as bad, yet very little better than before. Such things have happened ere this. Non-Christian civilizations have come to grief, and disappeared off the face of the earth for want of some essential moral element.'

Now the Church fully recognizes the necessity of associating industry with the teaching of the gospel. But the problem instantly arises—of what kind should that connexion be?

There are two types of industrial missions in Africa. One is the trading kind; the other the educational. The first type, while seeking to use industry as an aid to the regeneration of Africa, requires especially to make its industries a commercial success. An impression has seized the minds of many people that the resources of Africa are so abundant, that missions can be supported and extended by the profits of the missionaries' own industry. Under this delusion many attempts have been made to run cheap missions, in which not only the necessities of the staff, but of the more religious and educational work are supposed to be forthcoming from the profits made by trading operations. I do not think that any such attempt has yet been successful. Bishop Taylor's mission in West Africa is a notorious example of the wastage of life and the disappointments that are seen to

follow a rash and unconsidered attempt on these lines.

In Nyasaland there are several trading missions which work on this principle, but they have been backed by contributions from home, which have aided their efforts towards self-support, and have helped them to continue their work. One of these missions, the Zambesi Industrial, has attained fair success in its work of evangelization. Experience has shown, however, that there are two or three grave dangers before a trading mission. One is, that the pressure to make a commercial profit is so great that it absorbs too much of the missionary's time and thought. Another is, that its efforts must be confined to spheres which are near a market for its goods. The questions, therefore, of prior occupation by another society and of the clamant needs of regions far afield, cannot have so much importance as this question of a market. Again there is the serious prejudice which is created in the minds of other traders, if missionaries subsidized by philanthropic money enter into unfair competition with them.

These dangers are so obvious that missionary societies of experience have avoided this type of industrial mission. When Buxton opened up his famous scheme for the Niger, he made the commercial enterprise a thing by itself, but asked the Church Missionary Society to assist with the religious side of the work. So also Venn, the famous secretary of the Church Missionary Society, who keenly felt the necessity of developing the commercial possibilities of Africa, took care that the Missionary Society was not involved in his schemes. He got specimens of the products of Africa sent home, and submitted them to experts and produce brokers. Whilst impressing on missionaries the

importance of advocating and encouraging trade, he was strenuously careful to avoid any actual business connexion for them lest it should distract or monopolize their thoughts. He established small industrial institutes at Lagos and Abeokuta where the natives were taught handicrafts. In 1859 two or three hundred cotton gins were at work at Abeokuta, and out of this little beginning there has grown the extensive trade of Lagos with Britain.

The educational industrial mission work has no temptation to seek a commercial profit. It is, therefore, free to develop those industries which may be of little service to the mission, but of great service to others. Its aim is not to retain its trained journeymen for its own profit, but to thrust them forth into the world to be useful citizens who help in the general advance of their country.

The industrial mission trains the African to labour in two ways. One is by teaching a few in a slight manner some skilled industry, the other by introducing to systematic labour gangs of people through the ordinary daily work of the station. If a missionary would build his station, equip it with necessary furniture, open a garden and plant fruit trees, he must himself superintend the work, and to a large degree initiate his labourers in their tasks. All the year round he is teaching the African to work. The lessons in wage-earning labour, as well as in the more skilled work of building or gardening or carpentry, are making their contribution to the new civilization of Africa.

In connexion with most systematic and well-staffed missions there is a central training institute where skilled trades are taught by European artisans. Promising boys are apprenticed for three or five years and are taught printing, carpentry, tailoring, building and numerous other trades.

When their apprenticeship is over they go forth to serve other employers, or to become independent master workmen. Critics of missions who are very emphatic about the necessity of industry for the Africans, seem peculiarly ignorant of how much is done by these great central institutes, and how much the European's very existence in tropical countries depends on the services of boys trained in them.

In some of the South African missions the training of skilled native labour is severely handicapped by the action of trades' unions of the white labourer. There was a time when the Natal Government decreed that no educational grant would be given to mission schools unless industrial training were given in them. Some societies immediately sent for plant to equip their schools. But the plant had scarcely arrived before the agitation of white artisans, who feared that cheaper skilled labour would drive them out of the field, led to the Government passing a law the exact opposite of the former one. The result of this opposition to native labour is seen in the housing of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia, say, as contrasted with their housing in Nyasaland. To build a good house in Nyasaland will not cost one-fifth of the sum it would cost to build the same type of house in Southern Rhodesia, because the skilled labour in Nyasaland is done by natives, while in Rhodesia it is done by Europeans. The wage of a skilled European artisan may be £1 a day, and of the native £1 a month.

The great need for unskilled labour in the mines and farms of South Africa, and the fear of white men that native competition will be disastrous to them, has greatly complicated the question of industrial training. But we must acknowledge that the presence of white men in an African country

ought not by any means to hinder the rise of the native to a competent and self-respecting manhood. So far the African artisan has not yet shown himself as efficient as the European. His initiative faculties are great, but his power to progress, when left to himself, is limited. You will find natives running the steamers on the Niger, building the houses of Europeans all over Africa, making their furniture, printing their books. You will find them acting as clerks and telegraphists. But they always require European superintendence to guide them, and keep them from deteriorating. Yet when one sees a great institution like Tuskegee in Alabama, U.S.A., where the buildings have not only been erected but planned by Africans, in which technical classes in thirty industries are taught by competent Africans, one must admit that the future may yet see African leaders of industry who will be able to plan, direct and develop the future of a high and advancing civilization.

If the industrial mission has accomplished anything it has only been by its being permeated by a spiritual and Christian atmosphere. 'Permanent societies of Christians,' said Dr. Philip, 'can never be maintained among a civilized people without imparting to them the arts and habits of civilized life . . . but if missionaries lose their religion and sink into mere mechanics, the work of civilization and moral improvement will speedily retrograde.' Hence it will be observed that in every successful industrial mission the spiritual tone has been kept high, and the whole work subordinated to the supreme aim of making Jesus Christ known, and of forming the character of the pupils.

It is well that this be emphasized. The superficial reader places great value on the testimony of officials and travellers who commend this and that

mission because of the carpenters, cooks, or tailors it has turned out, whose services have helped to make their residence in Africa less troublesome. The mission whose industrial work has given most help to the European is far more praised than the mission which has helped to turn men to Christ and form them after His image. But to the true missionary there has neither been advance in civilization, nor has his work been done, if the supreme result of characters established in Christ has not followed from his industrial training.

(b) Medical missions

Another all important branch of mission work in Africa is the medical agency. Africa abounds in native doctors of which there are two classes: one which has some skill in medicine and surgery, varying according to the individual, the other the exorcists, who believe that all disease emanates from an indwelling devil. What Africa has suffered at the hands of her 'medicine men' it would be hard to reckon. To them she owes not only barbarous surgery and deadly medicine which may kill as soon as cure, but wild orgies of superstitious practices and charges of bewitching brought against others, which have led to the scattering of villages, and to the death year by year of numbers of innocent people. It was Livingstone and others like him, who, moved by the awful evils instituted by this cult of medicine men, urged unweariedly the absolute necessity of medical missions. These men saw the countless benefits that would ensue from enlightened and humane treatment of native ailments and diseases. They saw that many deadly evils would be banished by the crushing of the superstitious practices of these witch-doctors. Livingstone and his contemporaries also saw that for those who attempted

travel and exploration in Africa or sought to pioneer among shifty and antagonistic chiefs, a knowledge of medicine was well-nigh indispensable.

The work which medical missions have done cannot be exaggerated. They have led to the sure exposure of the deceptions, superstitions, and barbarities of the native medicine men. The kindliness of the missionaries to the sick is a continual revelation of the new law of mercy. In more than one instance the medical missionary, by his skill, has opened doors, which were locked against Christian missions. By creating a sense of obligation for life saved and pain relieved, the doctor has bound the natives to the missionaries by strong cords of friendship. Medical missions have lessened countless hardships both for the native and also for the European. They have paved the way for the missionary's higher activities in countless instances. They have, in God's providence, prolonged his life and increased his store of health, so necessary for buoyant and active service.

Although most missionaries in Africa acquire a smattering of medical knowledge and dabble a good deal, through force of circumstances, in medical and surgical work, there is less specialized medical work done than in India and some other countries. Almost all the doctors in pagan Africa are compelled to divide their energies amongst all classes of work. Few are provided with efficient hospitals, and few are allowed the time or opportunity for the scientific investigation of those ravaging scourges that sweep over Africa. Yet there are some notable exceptions. The great hospital at Mengo in Uganda, under the brothers Drs. A. R. and J. H. Cook, has one hundred and thirty beds, is very fully equipped, and attracts patients from all over Equatorial Africa. At Blantyre in Nyasaland, there is a large

hospital with two doctors in charge. In South Africa nearly all the medical work for natives is done by government medical men, but the Victoria Hospital at Lovedale does very helpful though somewhat limited work. Altogether there are scattered over the continent about one hundred hospitals and dispensaries, most of them in charge of doctors, some in charge of trained nurses; but in only a few of these is the doctor given an opportunity to specialize in his medical work. At many of the hospitals systematic training is given to natives who are afterwards put in charge of hand-dispensaries or who act as hospital assistants, or are sent to assist employers of labour in caring for the sick and maimed among their employees. So far, however, no fully qualified native doctors have yet been trained in African schools. Most of the protectorates and colonies have made laws which forbid any one practising who has not received the diploma of a recognized European School of Medicine.

(c) Educational

Education has been a necessary arm of all mission work in pagan Africa. Early missionary work was confronted by a people who had no literature of their own, and who had no means of communicating knowledge to one another. On the West Coast it has been found that one or two tribes had certain signs by which language might be reproduced, but these were of a secret and limited form. The result of this lack of literature was that the intelligence of peoples had little opportunity of growth. War and other causes closed up the boundaries of each tribe, so that each lived in a peculiar isolation which forbade the intercommunication of ideas. Traditional superstitions alone explained natural phenomena, and custom dictated

the line of conduct. The lever which all missions have used to raise the gross ignorance of the African has been education. It has been recognized that teaching in schools has produced in a greater or less degree a more open mind to rational explanations of the world in which we live, and has undermined the inexorable hold of traditional customs and superstitions. It has also prepared a way for the gospel. Christian truth does not break suddenly on the mind of the native with one declaration. It requires much reiteration, and the new intelligence that schools create makes the native more susceptible to the meaning of the gospel. As education increases, the fuller meanings of spiritual and moral teaching are more easily understood. Moreover, the art of reading, places among them God's greatest teacher, whose voice need never be silenced—the Bible. One example of this is worth quoting. A mission in Africa, which despised the routine work of school teaching, believed that the daily proclamation of the gospel would suffice for the creation of Christian lives. One of the missionaries, who is a first-class linguist, translated the New Testament into the vernacular, and when it was published, he and his colleagues awoke to the fact, that though they had this inestimable treasure among them, no one could read it.

The educational work of missions in Africa is mainly of a very elementary character, but it has grown to enormous dimensions. The schools show a constant growth in efficiency, but necessarily the staffing and equipment are of the most primitive character, especially in the protectorates, where the expenditure is limited almost entirely to the educational budget of the missionary societies. When a group of villages desire a school, two or three Christian lads are sent as teachers. They

are possibly young married men of tried character, whose education has not taken them beyond Standard IV or Standard V. They take with them a syllable sheet, a little black-board, some slates and pencils, and with this equipment they begin to teach. They seem to be poorly enough educated themselves, but there are one or two things about them that raise them high above their heathen villagers. They are dressed, the villagers are naked. They wash daily, the villagers smear themselves with oil, and are coated with dust. The printed page speaks to them, it is silent to the villager. They have learned the gospel of an indwelling God, and a Saviour from sin. The villages know nothing of God, and cringe before fetishes or spirits of the dead. They have learned a new law of tenderness to suffering, of sobriety and purity of conduct. The villagers are drunken as long as they can get beer, are brutal to the helpless, and their very sport is permeated with unchastity. Slight then as the education of these teachers has been, they are already far ahead of the heathen villagers, and their faces are towards the light. They begin the school in the open air, under some shady tree, and as all the pupils are in the same class, beginning at syllables, it is still early morning when religious and secular teaching are over. When school is finished, the teachers lead the villagers and show them how to build to a large rectangular plan, and in a month or two the scholars have shifted from the open air to a school-house which they themselves have built, and which is by far the greatest and best house in the community.

The school soon develops. Smart boys will be able to read before the year is over. Others drag on in the lower classes term after term. The slates are in daily use, and the mystery of counting is

learned. A little pressure is brought to bear on the pupils to pay a small fee, and soon the large numbers in the school have diminished to a few who are eager enough to learn and will not grudge to pay. Daily a Bible lesson is taught, and its spiritual and moral lessons are driven home with considerable fulness. Soon hearts are touched, and a little group of enquirers begin to gather about the teacher.

At the best the schools seldom take the pupils beyond reading of the vernacular, writing, and simple arithmetic. But when these have been learned the pupils have acquired the art of communicating with one another when absent, of making simple calculations which meet them in daily life, and of reading the wisdom of others, and the message of God.

Such is a slight description of a pioneer school in Nyasaland, or in East Africa. It will also hold good of those in most lands in pagan Africa. As the schools become established and the people grow in intelligence, the programme is, of course, more elaborated, and education is given by more systematic methods.

All missions do not follow this extensive method of education. There are some who only teach the pupils about the European station, and all converts are required to withdraw from their heathen surroundings and settle in the neighbourhood of the station. In other missions large boarding-schools are opened, and promising children are carefully trained and educated there, in the hope that when they are ready, they may go back among their own people with an established character, and considerably enlightened. This method means a much more thorough education, for it is conducted under the immediate superintendence of Europeans

But it also means a great limitation of the mission's influence.

Secondary education is a growth of recent days. Its necessity arises from the demand for better trained teachers and the higher efficiency required in elementary schools. In Uganda the professional training of teachers has only been undertaken on a small scale, and is still for the most part unorganized. In Southern Nigeria ('Old Calabar') an institution of the United Free Church of Scotland has been recently organized, but so far only one fully qualified native teacher is in educational work. At Sierra Leone, as far back as 1827, the Fourah Bay College was started for the training of native workers. It has since been affiliated with Durham University and is the only African native college which gives degrees. Several of the other old established missions have their grammar schools and institutes, such as the Church Missionary Society at Abeokuta and at Oka on the Niger, the Wesleyan High Schools at Freetown and Cape Coast and an Institute at Ibadan, and the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast. In Nyasaland each one of the missions has now a central training institute, where the future teachers are given a full professional course in teaching. South Africa has also a large number of seminaries for higher education, and most of the strong missions have one or two. But, in spite of the unusual advantages for full training in teaching, a very small percentage of those who are engaged in school work in this old field have had a complete course. The urgent needs of schools for teachers and the attraction of more lucrative spheres of service draw the pupils away before their education is completed. Yet the type of education given in the elementary schools by these partially trained teachers is much in advance of what is found in the northern parts of

the continent. Unfortunately in South Africa, as in Sierra Leone, the religious influence of the schools has not kept pace with their educational advance.

An ambitious plan for a native college at Lovedale, South Africa, is now under consideration. Most of the great missionary societies have fallen in with the proposal and promised to do their part towards its foundation and maintenance. The government educational authorities have also concurred in the proposal, and the native states have offered large sums of money. It is not proposed to found the college on a European plan, so as to denationalize the native, but on essentially native lines, which, while refusing to lower the high standard of efficiency expected of a college affiliated with the university, will train native leaders in the arts and sciences in such a way as to make them more capable of serving their fellows, as teachers, ministers, doctors, or in whatever sphere is open to them.

At present the type of education which missions are giving in their schools is constantly changing. Old methods are being abandoned and more modern and scientific methods are being used. All missionaries call out for more manual and industrial teaching in the schools, so that the hand and whole body may be developed as well as the mind. It is felt that the school books used in many missions lose a great opportunity as they are not adapted to the life of the people, and that the general result of the system of education followed does not adequately adjust the pupil to the new life he should live at home, nor does it help to the formation of good and useful citizens of the state that is arising.

Gradually these questions will work out their proper solution through the lessons learned from the experience of the past century, together with

the light that the modern science of teaching is throwing on the problems of the training of childhood.

(d) Production of literature

While the intellectual and Christian life of the people is rising all over Africa, it is to be expected that literature for the feeding of it will also be growing. Scarcely is a mission started than the need for a printing press appears. It may be used first for printing school books, and as education grows it is required for portions of the Bible and books which further the knowledge and feed the spiritual life of the Christians. The Roman alphabet and phonetic spelling have been adopted, thereby greatly facilitating the process of learning to read and fixing definitely the orthography of the language.

In many of the missions a monthly paper is published, in some cases a weekly, which not only teaches Christian truth, but widens the horizon of the readers by giving news of the outside world and scientific information. In Madagascar, where literary work has been emphasized from the beginning, a considerable literature is growing up. The whole Bible was translated in the early days, and has since been revised. Books on the spiritual life, of theology, church history and apologetics, commentaries on the Bible, and even a large Bible Dictionary of nine hundred pages, have been published. In Uganda the Bible is published, with other devotional books, the Oxford helps, several commentaries and books on Church History. In Basutoland also there is a weekly newspaper which has been continuously published for forty-three years. The whole Bible has been translated, together with several commentaries, a Dictionary of the Bible, and other helpful books on the Bible.

In West Africa and South Africa, the growth of the knowledge of English has somewhat restrained vernacular publications, and the higher teaching is done in English. In every Protestant mission of pagan Africa, however, the printing press is producing some kind of literature and pushing forward the publication of the whole Bible in the vernacular of the people. In this there is an essential difference from the work of the old Roman Catholic missions, and in some degree from those of the present.

But in spite of the apparent desire for education throughout Africa the educated people cannot be called a reading people. By the ordinary native little is read beyond their Bible and hymn-books. Possibly the explanation of this is the very elementary character of the vast majority of primary schools. Pupils of the first generation of Christians begin to learn late in life, and it is difficult to retain them in school long enough. Nearly all the pupils leave school before they have attained to much freedom in reading, and consequently they have not yet learned the delight of books. Unfortunately far too many of the books printed are merely translations. They therefore preserve a difficult and foreign form which does not appeal to the natives. Books are required which are written from the native point of view, and with the mental and spiritual environment of those who are to read them. The time has not yet come when the African himself will produce his own literature, although there are one or two notable examples of highly popular and useful books by native converts, notably the commentary written by the Katihiro of Uganda.

It is a significant fact for the future of Africa that the vernacular literature so far is distinctly Christian in tone, and is almost entirely issued from mission presses. In South Africa there are two

or three vernacular newspapers issued by natives themselves. These natives have all been educated in Christian schools, and are favourable to Christianity, so that it may be said with confidence that in Central and South Africa the press is entirely Christian, and an agency for the evangelization of the land and the building up of Christian character.

When one considers the more directly religious work of missions, a wonderful unity of aim and method is found. The preaching of the gospel to pagan Africa must always remain the chief method of missionary work. It is probably true to say that almost the entire Christian community in Africa has been brought to Christ by the spoken word, though it may have been pointed and confirmed by the printed page. Preaching in the Church, Sunday by Sunday and often during the week, village services in the open court of the village, quiet talks by the wayside or in the homes of the people—these are the ordinary methods of declaring the gospel.

(e) Preaching

(1) Its value

The work of preaching is, of course, not confined to the foreign missionary. It is possible that in many districts the preaching has been done almost entirely by natives. The European has always to contend with the difficulty of speaking in a foreign tongue and passing his thoughts through a foreign mould; but he has also on his side the prestige that attends the fact that he is a European, also that his superior education has given him a clearer insight into the truths of God. 'He comes to them as the representative of the higher knowledge, the superior forces, the marvellous apparatus of the outer world which is breaking in upon their lower level; he is associated in their minds with the deference due

to the foreign power whose authority overshadows them; the qualities developed in him by superior knowledge and culture, and still more the Christian principle which regulates his life and work among them, win their confidence, or at least compel their regard.'

It is not good that the European minimize the possible power that may attend his preaching. The danger in Africa is, that the lack of that stimulus which an intelligent and critical audience may give to a preacher tends to make the European esteem too lightly the greatest of his regular tasks.

On the other hand the efficiency of the native as an evangelist has been amply proved. In many parts of Africa every church member is an evangelist, if not in the public proclamation of the gospel, at least in the homely private talks. Public speaking comes naturally to Africans. Even the small boys are not shamefaced to stand up and orate before their elders. Their ease in public speaking is at once their weakness and their strength. It is easy to find your preachers when Christian life is awake, but it is not so easy to find preachers who carefully prepare, or who really instruct by their sermons.

Yet these simple native Christians are the great propagators of Christianity. Through them the European may multiply himself a hundredfold, and there are many missions where, for each European who preaches the word on Sundays, there are a hundred native Christians declaring the same word in the scattered villages.

The advantages of the native evangelist over the foreign missionary are evident. His work is not interrupted by furloughs and by the weakness and sickness that meet the European missionary in a foreign climate. He understands his fellows, their

type of thought, their attitude to the past, and to the new gospel. He speaks their language fluently and idiomatically. Most African languages are comparatively easy to learn, but their very simplicity makes the difficulty for the foreigner. His thought is expressed in a more formal mould, by illustrations, and along lines which do not appeal to the native. Few men are able 'to get at the back of the black man's mind' and few are able to see truth in his perspective. But when you get a well-educated native Christian who has not been denationalized by his education, and who has come to understand the gospel and is full of the Spirit, you have a wonderful medium for the presentation of the truth.

Besides, the native Christian stands there as a transformed man of their own species. He shows in his conduct and home life what the gospel can do for him. The European missionary has come out of another environment, and all the advantages of his higher type of life seem to the Africans to have been born with him in his own land beyond the seas. The daily practice of temperance, industry, economy, truthfulness and the many virtues of a true Christian life, when seen in a native Christian whom they knew formerly as a pagan like one of themselves, is a more convincing witness of the Power of God, than any importation can be.

(ii) The appeal of the gospel

Does this preaching, we may ask, awaken any response in the heathen heart? Does the African native show any desire to listen to the teaching of the gospel? Can his mind appreciate and understand the message which Christianity brings to him? In answering these questions we must first bear in mind that the mind of the African pagan is not wholly unprepared

for the teaching of Christianity. The whole of animistic religion is not in opposition to the gospel, and there are many points of contact which no missionary can ignore. We have seen in the last chapter how among the rudest tribes there exists a dim undefined consciousness of a great unknown God; we have also seen the distorted, yet living, belief in an after-life of the soul. The need for atonement with the gods whom he has offended gives rise to the pagan's belief in the efficacy of sacrifice. These scattered fragments the Christian missionary can use, and weld them into the foundations on which he seeks to rear the City of God in untutored Africa. He will lead his hearers from the known to the unknown. If, however, he comes among the people in unsympathetic antagonism to everything and tries, by breaking their beer pots, to stop drunkenness, by entering their groves and scattering their fetishes, to overthrow superstition, he will only find that he has alienated the people from himself, and has not altered one bit their sensuality or their superstition. It is not by denunciation of evil that men reveal the truth—we do not lighten a room by sweeping out the dark, but by letting in the light, and the best assent to truth has been got by emphasizing what is known, such as the existence of God, immortality, the need of sacrifice, and passing on to reveal the further truth.

We must not, however, be led into thinking that the newness of the gospel-teaching is a hindrance to missionary work among the pagans of Africa. The gospel message comes to supply something which they have never experienced before, and which they gladly receive. We have seen in a previous chapter how the religion of the African is one of fear; it entails daily distresses, even torture

for the sick and the defenceless; it tramples all humane instincts underfoot, and leads to the triumph of the barbarous doctrine, 'might is right'. To this Christianity brings a message of sympathy and of certainty. Christ is seen as able to conquer the demons and evil spirits which prevail over man. Ears are readily opened to such a message, regardless at first even of its religious significance. A willingness to hear, and hope for betterance, is instantly kindled in hearts that otherwise might remain cold. These untutored peoples who are burdened with pain and misery are eagerly awaiting the divine consolation, 'earthly misery causes men to stretch out their hands for the gospel gifts.'[1]

Another great influence at work to-day is the personality of the Christian messenger. The African is quickly responsive to kindness. Unselfish love and truth for truth's sake are utterly strange and new conceptions, yet he is quick to grasp their value, and some latent sense of appreciation is aroused to meet this strange new revelation. The hardened heathen, familiar only with selfishness all around him, is imperceptibly softened by the love and kindness that 'seeketh not his own but another's' good. These virtues awaken in the Animist feelings of whose existence he has been utterly unaware. Thus 'confidence in the person of the missionary leads to confidence in the God of the missionary'[2] and a readiness to accept and to serve Him.

The evangelic message also brings the knowledge of a personal and loving God to the heathen world. The heathen frequently experience the impotence of their own gods, and the accessibility of God, His power, love and over-ruling providence, exert a

[1] WARNECK, *The Living Forces of the Gospel*, p. 160.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 170.

tremendous effect on the heathen mind. This leads to the impulse to pray, hitherto unknown to him, now a new and joyful practice frequently put into use. 'The heathen who has entered into a personal relation with God must needs tell Him everything that moves him.'[1] A full understanding of the significance of the cross of Christ cannot be expected among a people who have little or no sense of sin. Before the power of Christ to redeem a man from sin can be realized in the mind of the pagan, many steps have to be climbed. Some sense of sin has to be created. Indeed, one of the greatest difficulties in preaching is to find words for our adequate expression of truths, such as purity, trust, holiness. These however, are things which will only be learned as men grow into the knowledge of God. It is by revealing God that some conception of the contents of the word we use for purity or holiness is learned, and it is as these are learned that the meaning of sin breaks on people and the idea of Jesus Christ as a present Saviour delivering from sin is understood.

WARNECK, *The Living Forces of the Gospel*, p. 219

CHAPTER VI

Results of Mission Work

Analytical Index

THE INFLUENCE OF MISSIONS ON AFRICA
THE SOCIAL RESULTS.
(*a*) Establishment of Peace.
(*b*) Influence on African Chiefs.
(*c*) Suppression of Social Evils.
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH IN AFRICA.
(*a*) How a Church is built up.
(*b*) Admission to Membership.
(*c*) Hindrances to Church Life.
(*d*) Endurance of Persecution.
(*e*) Liberality.
(*f*) Missionary Zeal.
CONCLUSION.

The influence of missions on Africa

CHRISTIANITY, we have seen, has a great work to do for Africa. That work the Christian Church is seeking to do along many lines of activity. However feeble the effort may be compared with the task, we cannot but admit that much is being given to Africa both by gifts of money and by gifts of human lives. What then, we may ask, are the results in Africa to-day of those various activities? Is Africa changing? Is there justification for the hope that Africa may one day take her place in the Christian life of the nations of the world? These are momentous questions, and to answer them rightly demands much study and thought. In a country so closely

linked to European civilization as Africa is, it is difficult to specify definitely the actual results of Christianity, for God uses many forces to accomplish His will, and many who are unaware of it may yet be His agents. He uses the forces of government and of commerce in preparing a way for His messengers, in establishing peace, in giving settled government, enriching and enlightening the people, and in increasing the accessibility of the continent. Some of these influences we have already noted, but we have in this chapter to study more particularly the changes which have actually been brought about by missionary work. It will help us if we divide the spheres of its influence, first, into those which touch inter-tribal and social relationships, and second, those which are more directly connected with the raising up of a Church essentially African and no mere foreign growth transplanted.

The social results
(a) Establishment of peace

First, we may see how missions have contributed to the peace of the continent. Again and again there have been cases where the teaching of the gospel, apart from the influence of a strong government, has turned people from war and rebellion, and made them listen reasonably to the commands of their governors. In the earlier days of British colonization in Africa, 'but for the missionaries the natives would have lacked all local protection. It was only through the missionaries that news of injustice or cruelty practised on a native could reach the ears of the British Government. . . . One must rejoice', the same African historian goes on to say, 'that ministers of religion were found to champion the cause of the weaker race and keep the government alive to a sense of one of its first

duties.' In the promotion of settled European government missionaries have again and again been the pioneers and mediators. Though most of them try to avoid anything that would make them appear the agents of any particular power, the necessities of the situation have frequently compelled them to urge European powers to establish protectorates in order to save the subject people from the mischievous inroads of contending forces, irresponsible Europeans, and the havoc of inter-tribal war and the slave traffic. Missionaries were the means of leading the Bechuana chiefs to petition the British nation to administer their country when the gold rush and the encroachments of the Boers imperilled their future. It was also the active agitation of the missionary societies that compelled Britain, reluctant as she was, to establish the Nyasaland, the East African, and Uganda Protectorates. Nor can it be said that Jingoism was the inspiring motive in any of the above instances. It was a case of seeing a native people threatened by a wave of chaos and misrule, which would have submerged them, and of appealing to a European nation to fulfil its obligations to weaker peoples. It is also a striking fact that in all the tribes where the Livingstonia missions preceded government, no military expedition was necessary. The Tonga, Henga, Tumbuka, Angoni—the Mazitu of Livingstone's book—were quietly settled without a single display of force. The only place where fighting took place was at Karonga, and there war was waged against the Arab slavers, the natives fighting on the side of the British.[1]

[1] The interesting case of Bishop Tucker's appeal against Britain abandoning Uganda should be studied in vol vii, p. 75, of *The Commission Reports of the Edinburgh Conference*, or vol. iii, *C M S. Hist.*, p 445.

For many years while the Germans waged a constant war with the Hottentots in their South-West Protectorate, the Hereros remained peaceable through the influence of the German missionaries. When at last the costly and prolonged war of the early part of this century broke out, it was the missionaries who acted as peacemakers, and after the defeat of the rebels succeeded in bringing 12,000 of them to voluntary submission.

Again and again English Governors and administrators have testified to the influence of the missionaries in the cause of peace. When Sir Charles, then Colonel, Warren was engaged in pacifying Bechuanaland, he generously wrote: '. . . for the preservation of peace between colonists and natives one missionary is worth a battalion of soldiers,' and he refused to allow the government to deprive him of John Mackenzie's services. Warren saw that in Mackenzie he had a man who understood the situation better than any other one, and who could justly interpret the attitude of the natives. Bechuanaland was the key of Rhodesia, and its retention under British protection was to have far-reaching effects. So also when Sir Alfred Sharpe was appointed to the administration of the North Angoni in Nyasaland, he had the missionaries by his side to reassure the chiefs, and he used a mission teacher as an interpreter. The result was that, without the display of a single soldier, he took over the control of his tribe, once the most warlike in Central Africa. Similar testimonies could also be quoted from consuls and commissioners in other parts of Africa.

The call upon Government has not been for the preservation of the lives of missionaries, but for the defence of helpless people whose future existence was at stake. The principle which has

guided Protestant missionary societies is laid down by John Mackenzie, when he says, 'The missionary who goes into a heathen land goes at the risk of his own life, and has no right to call upon the home Government for help when life seems in danger. And this is surely the doctrine most generally held by British missionaries and statesmen. Whatever other governments may have done, it has not been the practice of the British Government to treat the murder of missionaries by heathen peoples as calling for the interference of the sovereign.' It is one thing, however, to bring a tribe under peaceful administration and quite another to maintain peace during the days when the irksomeness of paying taxes, of burying the spear, and of resisting temptation to revenge aggressions by others, begin to be felt. Now the *pax Britannica* is stealing over inland Africa, not simply because at the back of Government there are little companies of native soldiers officered by Europeans, but also because a new teaching is permeating the tribal life, breaking up the warring and turbulent spirit, and inculcating a patient forbearance.

(b) Influence on African chiefs

Apart from their actual influence in preventing warfare, many instances might be given where the destinies of tribes were saved by the power of wise chiefs who had been guided by Christian missions.

Livingstone's father-in-law, the honoured missionary Robert Moffat, gained a wonderful influence over the noted robber chief of the Hottentots, Africaner. He was at the height of his dreadful notoriety with a price set on his head by the Cape Government, when Moffat first came in contact with him. Africaner had begun life as a servant

to a certain Penaar, a Dutchman. Penaar treated him with such harshness that in revenge Africaner one day murdered him and escaped into the interior. There he gathered a clan of marauding Hottentots about him and for years carried on a life of war and plunder. He spared neither white nor black, and the fame of his butcheries was so terrible that they caused a trembling among the natives whenever his name was mentioned. Moffat, however, penetrated to the chief's kraal and boldly began mission work among his people. Gradually he overcame Africaner's suspicion and hostility, and in the end so gained his affections and respect that finally the chief was won over to Christianity, baptized by Moffat, and renounced his former evil ways with such thoroughness that he and his marauders settled down to a peaceable pastoral life. When Moffat went to Cape Town to visit the Governor, Africaner accompanied him. The favourable impression made by this visible demonstration of the conquering power of the gospel was very great.

Another notable chief of the earlier days was Waterboer, who had been a catechist in one of the missions of the London Missionary Society. He was elected chief of Griquatown, and soon rose to great power, making his clan the most influential in South Africa. He suppressed all plundering by his own people, and by neighbouring tribes. He absorbed marauding tribes into his own, and settled them down to a peaceful life. He headed the Griqua chiefs, and succeeded in driving off from Kuruman the apparently irresistible horde of Mantiti, who were devastating great stretches of South Africa. Year by year his fame and power increased till the Government recognized what an ally for peace and progressive civilization it had in the Christian chief, Waterboer.

We have another example in Moshesh, the great chief of the Basuto, whom the French missionaries led to give up raiding. For the past two generations the mission influence has been paramount, so that this people are possibly the most stable and advanced in South Africa. They, almost alone in South Africa, retain their independence. They have 125,000 pupils at school and a rapidly increasing literature. Recently a native parliament has been formed among them. For years this tribe steadied by the presence and influence of their missionaries remained loyal to the British Empire, when the Kaffirs and other surrounding people were fighting British forces.

Lastly there is Khama, the most deservedly famous of all Central African chiefs, who has stood for righteousness and Christian principle all through his long and honourable life. There is no small romance in the record of this chief, who as a young man was appointed leader of the Bamangwato in northern Bechuanaland and figured largely during the stormy period of that province's history from 1878 onwards when Colonel Warren maintained a military occupation there, finally achieving the settlement of Bechuanaland in 1885. The effect of the British connexion was unmixed good. Formerly a hotbed of war and tumults, Bechuanaland was handed over to Cape Colony 'as safe to travel in as any part of England'.

Khama contributed no little to this pacific settlement. In youth he had come under missionary influence and accepted Christianity whole-heartedly. He had much to contend against, especially the machinations of his wily old father and his half-brother, who endeavoured to raise disaffection amongst his followers and oust him from his position as chief. He met all their plots with an admir-

able mixture of sane dealing and forbearance, and his followers remained staunch. His appeal in a letter to the British administrator during the height of the unrest is characteristic and is no small testimony to the result of Christian teaching: 'I ask her Majesty to defend me as she defends all her children. There are three things which distress me very much—war, selling people, and drink.' There came a day notable in African annals when this dusky chief crossed the seas to pay his homage in person to the Queen, and representative of that great Christian country, whence enlightenment and hope for present gain and future betterance borne by the messengers of good tidings had come to Khama and his faithful people.

But we must pass from individual instances to the wide general improvement introduced by Christian missions into African life. The unrest of Africa does not only come, as we have seen, from unhappy tribal relations, but also from social customs which are deadly and disturbing. Here, too, missions are saving more lives than can well be counted. Government, of course, forbids brutal practices, but the gospel has reached many places which government has scarcely touched. The old missionaries in Calabar, long before Britain had settled in that country, got some of the chiefs to agree to abolish infanticide, the killing of mothers, and human sacrifice. Indeed, one of the most heroic tales of mission work is the story of Miss Slessor's pioneering service. For thirty-three years she has worked in Southern Nigeria and has made it her custom to live far ahead of any civilizing power among the most degraded and brutal natives. She has lived as the rescuer and guardian of little children who were destined for death.

(c) Suppression of social evils

Many a time she has saved the people from committing murder upon the unhappy mother of twins, and upon the twins themselves. Thanks to the teaching of mission schools the incalculable horrors of witchcraft and the poison ordeal are also being eliminated. A missionary known to the writer has seen a dozen dead bodies lying outside a village stockade in Nyasaland after the administration of the poison ordeal. Not many years passed before he saw the ordeal die out in that district because the common conscience of the people had been educated to abhor it.

Polygamy is one of Africa's curses. Family life is impossible under it, and the degradation of womanhood is involved in it. There are chiefs who have as many as two or three hundred wives. Government never attempts to legislate against this social evil, but the voice of the evangel is emphatic in denouncing it. All over Africa the custom of polygamy is rapidly dying. In Nyasaland hundreds of polygamous unions are dissolved, not by force, but by the new conscience that is awakening. Home life is also coming into being in Africa, through the influence of missions alone. When it does not exist, and it does not exist in paganism, there can be no purity of life, no true nurture of the generation that is to be.

The African is markedly sociable; his domestic virtues are latent and need only encouragement and fostering. Already home ties are held to possess a value utterly unknown to the former generation. Parental responsibility, honour for parents, tender solicitude for the weak and sickly, and a spirit of Christian love and devotion hold sway wherever mission teaching has gained a foothold. Children are being nurtured in these new standards and the future holds hope that one day

the ideal of family and social relations may be reached, of a common weal, seeking not merely its own but another's good, so that 'if one member suffer all the others suffer with it.'

Many other social virtues, which make life brighter and more secure, are appearing to-day under the influence of missions—virtues which are essential to true Christianity. Honesty among people who lived to pilfer and plunder; truth, where no lie was dishonourable except when discovered; kindliness, where cruelty was a habit; care for the aged and the sick, where these were formerly abandoned to the wild beasts; cleanliness, where filthiness was universal; modesty, where abominations were openly practised; clothing, where men and women were naked, and were not ashamed; good housing, where men lived in sheds or dingy huts; industry, where none laboured except under compulsion; prosperity and plenty, where poverty and hunger were as periodical as the seasons—these are some of the social fruits of missions, which may be seen wherever Christ's gospel has been proclaimed.

We now pass to what must be regarded as the most important result of missionary work—the creation of a Church in Africa. This is indeed the main object of missions, the prime motive of their activity though it may often escape mention in books of travels, governor's reports, or mere smoking-room yarns of foreign parts. A Church has to be created where formerly heathendom prevailed; a pagan people has to be brought into living fellowship with Christ Himself. Without such a product mission work is still in the hard and barren days, and there will be little joy in the missionary's heart, even though he

Establishment of the Church in Africa

may see beautiful villages arising, people acquiring a new wealth, and government sitting easy in its seat.

All that we have said earlier in the chapter is of minor importance; now we come to the very heart of missions. Here is the source of all individual, social, and national reform. Wherever a church lives which is being sanctified by God the spirit, to be presented faultless, stainless, and without blemish, there is a lamp lit, before which war, social barbarities, and all types of immoralities wither away, unable to bear its light. Many a time has the presence of one respected Christian in a village made an unholy dance cease. Many a time has the leaven of a Christian community suppressed the poison ordeal and the public orgies or fetishism. Not many years ago when the paramount chief of northern Angoniland was elected, and one of the councillors rose to perform a wild war dance to incite the tribe to go out on its traditional raid in celebration of the coronation, the presence of two or three influential native Christians turned the dance into a silly fiasco, and the councillor's plan was defeated. In these cases, perhaps, no word was spoken. The mere presence of a Christlike man was a new conscience to the people, and suppressed the practices of darkness.

'The Church is the Ark of God, and its companies of worshippers are the centres of the manifestation of His glory in the redemption and sanctification of the wondering children of men.' If missions exist that the whole earth may be filled with His glory, they must give birth to those centres for the manifestation of it, and this is the fruit of proclaiming the gospel. The Lord Jesus Christ, our first missionary, came to declare the gospel. When He had done so He said to the Father, 'I have glorified thee on the earth, having accomplished the work which thou hast given me

to do,' and missionaries can feel that they have accomplished the high work for which they have been sent, when they see around them a people in whom God is glorified.

(a) How a Church is built up

How is this Church created? The answer is, by every agency which is consecrated to God. Those who read the annual reports of the Mengo hospital will see how year by year numbers of the patients are brought to Christ. Here medical work is the instrument of God for His Church. One can tell from personal experience of a carpenter in Central Africa who turns out splendid journeymen, and through his ten years' service, scarcely one of his apprentices has left his shop without having become a devoted Christian. Here industrial work is God's instrument for His Church. The testimony of many missionaries who reported to the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh is that a great number of their church members have been brought to Christ in the school. Here educational work is God's instrument for His Church. And how shall we reckon the number of souls who have come to the light through quiet conversations, village preachings, and church services? These have found God's instrument for His Church in personal work, and in the preaching of the Word.

(b) Admission to Membership

This brings us to the actual question of Church membership. We can only estimate aright the possibilities of a Christian Africa by considering the character of those to whom we must look to lead the Church of the future. In all African churches there is a considerable interval between profession of faith and communicating. The interval may extend, from six months

as laid down by the Baptists on the Congo to at least two or three years, as in the case of all the Nyasaland missions. No missionary of experience baptizes men and women immediately on their profession of faith in Christ. The African is emotional beyond most races, and he is particularly social in his instincts. Consequently he may be swayed by some popular mass movement, nor would it become us to let him make vows of faith and desire which he has not fully understood.

When a man first expresses his desire to follow Christ he is possibly received informally to the 'Hearers Class'. Here he may spend a year, during which he is taught by a native teacher the primary doctrines and the whole of one of the Gospels. He then comes up for a personal examination, and if his knowledge and conduct are satisfactory he may be received into the catechumen's class. This is done in a public solemn way, and the catechumen publicly professes his faith in Christ and desire to follow Him. He continues in the catechumen's class for one or two years, during which time he is regularly instructed by natives or Europeans in selected Bible teaching and in some doctrinal catechism. When he has completed this course he again comes for a personal examination, and if he passes, his name is submitted to the native Christians or elders. They have seen his life and conduct during the term of his probation, and they know him well, for there is no privacy in native life. If a husband has quarrelled with his wife the whole village knows it. There little is hid, all is revealed daily. The walls of the small huts are not thick enough to conceal family conduct, and the African does not speak softly. His conversation with his neighbour takes the form of what Miss Kingsley calls a 'friendly yell'. Hence the

accuracy of the native Christians' knowledge and judgement of conduct.

If the catechumen passes their friendly inspection he is now ready for baptism. But there are certain public vices that must have been abandoned through these years of oversight. For example, all worship of fetishism and all brutal practices must have ceased. Almost universally in pagan Africa no polygamist may be admitted either to the catechumenate or the Church. Only one wife, and that the true wife, may be retained. Most missions would refuse anyone who frequented evil dances. In the Livingstonia and Dutch Reformed and other missions, all catechumens must be total abstainers from native beer. This is a rule made not by the Europeans, but by the native Church. It was they who led. When they saw the havoc that beer-drinking was working in the country, and how easily they themselves might forget a proper restraint, they resolved that the native Church must be purged of the evil.

When a candidate has been approved by missionary and people alike he is then baptized and received into the full privileges of the Christian Church. In Anglican missions baptism is given at an earlier stage, and then follows a period of instruction before confirmation and the taking of Holy Communion. In many missions it is insisted that young people be able to read before they are received into the Church. The differing circumstances found in different localities necessarily involve variety of procedure in different missions. But all the paths by which converts are led into the Church are long enough to allow some testing of sincerity, and to give opportunity for considerable instruction. After the candidates for Church membership have been admitted by baptism in a

public and solemn fashion, the work of the missionary is far from finished. There still remains the greater work of leading the people into some conformity to Christ and of developing the Church into lines of self-extension and independence. No missionary will be satisfied that his work is done when he has admitted men and women to the Christian Church. The harder task lies before him, of maintaining its discipline and of purifying its conduct. The power of mission triumphs does not lie in statistical success, but in the amount of character that is produced. 'How much of the mind of Christ is appearing in a community?' is a more vital question than 'How many are baptized?'

(c) Hindrances to church life

We cannot be blind to the fact that there are moral hindrances to real Christian progress, and this the missionary proves daily. The greatest obstacle of all is the lack of any sense of sin. Evil, as an offence against God, is unknown. The only fear of evil is the fear of the social consequences. Certainly moral progress is distinctly visible in communities where strong religious movements have taken place and a higher ethical standard is produced where there are strong religious movements. It does not, however, always appear suddenly, nor is it maintained with ease. There is no field where the rejoicing in progressive religious work is not at times qualified with considerable lamentation over the lack of conscience, or of permanent improvement. On the West Coast, for instance, we have examples of great Christian advances. Six communicants in one mission in 1816 had grown to 4,500 in 1872, and about a £1,000 were contributed by the people themselves to the church fund. Yet even at that period

of progress 'not all members were converted people. Sensual indulgence and vain personal display were common. A dislike of hard work crowded the market for clerks and shopmen, while handicrafts and agriculture were neglected.' The record of progress in the Uganda Church surpasses anything that has happened in continental Africa, yet in its last year's report we find one missionary referring to the increasing indifference to Christian duty and to the growing immorality, and to how little is taught or understood of the vital truths of the Faith, among the candidates for confirmation or baptism. The spread of Christianity in Madagascar between 1870–80 was amazing. In 1880, just twelve years after the succession of Rànàvàlona II, the first Christian queen, there were 68,227 church members, and 225,460 adherents. Now these are stirring facts, but the men on the spot saw them under qualifying lights. In their reports home they lament the presence of a good deal of ignorance, immorality, and unchristian conduct within the membership of the Church: this, too, in spite of the purifying influence of a great persecution which endured throughout a quarter of a century. Statistics, too, are often very deceptive. Many a young missionary whose mind has been fed on figures, into which he has read his own romantic interpretation, has received such a shock when he came face to face with the hard reality of facts that his spirit has shrivelled. The native converts are not angels yet—they are but human beings, who perhaps only a few short years ago were soiled with vice and ignorant superstitions. Some of the stain of the past is still about them.

Over against this somewhat pessimistic picture we have, however, to place two great positive facts. In the first place it is proved again and again in

Africa that this sense of sin, so often lacking, is certainly created by the revelation of God in Christ. As the knowledge of God increases, so does the sense of sin and the desire for purity and strength of character. The height of the ethical standard is measured by the height of the knowledge of Christ. As we have seen in the previous chapter the preaching of the spiritual doctrines of the Cross has power in Africa as elsewhere, and it is this that produces a better morality, not the mere preaching of the higher moral laws. As a result of simple evangelical preaching great religious awakenings have taken place and have not expended themselves in mere emotionalism. Lives have been changed. Honesty, chastity, and quiet have taken the place of pilfering, impurity, and quarrelling. Men who were notorious for indolence have become notable for strenuous labour.

Again, it is necessary in estimating the Christian life of the convert to compare it with that of his pagan neighbour, not with the highly educated European Christian who has centuries of Christian life behind him. When we take this reasonable method we find triumphant proof of progress and real results. Many there are amongst these African Christians whose lives are shining lamps, whose courtesy, consecration and gentle Christian spirit, or burning zeal, are a daily witness that God dwells in them.

(d) Endurance of persecution

One of the best tests of the sincerity of the Christian faith is to watch how it endures persecution. The African Church has not had to bear such great outbursts of persecution as some other churches, but there have been several notable outbreaks. We have already mentioned the great persecution of Madagascar which

lasted for a quarter of a century. During this period the Church instead of diminishing increased tenfold.

At Bonny, in 1875, a severe persecution broke out. It was raised by the juju priests who had grown alarmed at the number of Christian baptisms. One convert who persisted in going to church and refused to eat of the juju sacrifices was thrown into the river. Another was starved to death. Two others were chained and confined in the bush for a year until they were liberated at the instigation of an English trader. It was one of these martyrs who replied to the persistence of the juju priests, 'Jesus Christ has put a padlock on my heart, and has taken the key to heaven.'

The great persecution in Uganda took place in 1885. Some were burned alive and one of the members of the church council died at the fire exhorting his executioners to believe in Jesus Christ. Scores of others, some of them not yet baptized, scarcely even recognized as Christians, went to death for the gospel. Such heroic devotion stands out as an incontestable proof of the reality of the faith of these converts, however feeble and undeveloped their Christian life might be on other lines. There is another form of persecution Christian Africans sometimes have to bear which is not only more common but more bitter. In certain villages they are almost ostracized. Many are subjected to accusations of unfriendliness, or even witchcraft, and continual temptations to sin are thrust in their way. Yet rather than be disloyal to Christ some have gone through these triumphantly, growing more Godlike by the bitterness of their situation, and perhaps in the end winning the great victory of turning their persecutors into believers.

(e) Liberality

Christianity is also beginning to teach the African the delights of giving. The forms of self-help which are found in Africa vary greatly in kind and degree. In most tribes, especially where the pressure of European civilization has not come, the native is poor in coin, but rich in time. He cannot give money, but he can give time and labour, and this is his first form of liberality. You will find him doing evangelistic work, building his churches and schools, carrying loads of produce to a market, acting as messenger for his teacher, hoeing roads through the bush, and by numerous little jobs gratuitously performed, making his contribution to the independent life of the native Church. Then comes the contribution in produce and other forms of marketable wealth. Scarcely any pagan tribe of Africa had originally a coinage of its own. In Uganda the cowrie shell had been introduced, but in most other lands the means of payment in barter were brass rods, beads, or calico. When, therefore, the church begins to give collections, the variety and bulk of the gifts are fearful and wonderful! On the days of great conferences when the people give out of a full heart, whether it be on the West Coast, or in British Nyasaland, the church door is blocked with gifts of food stuffs, live stock, barter goods, trinkets and ornaments, the primitive wealth of a primitive people.

As civilization advances and European governments establish their administration, coins begin to be used. The giving of the people then reaches a more recognizable standard. Some missions clothe, feed and educate their pupils, asking no fee, build churches for the people, and pay for the evangelists and native workers. Nowadays, however, most are agreed that such a system breeds a pauperized

community, which can never be vigorous. It is always hard to ask the people to pay for what they have hitherto received for nothing. The first pressure may possibly seem to threaten the collapse of the mission's work, yet in the end foundations thus laid are found to be firmer.

When Dr. Stewart first proposed in 1870 that all the pupils at Lovedale should pay fees, it seemed as if the institution would be emptied of pupils. At last, after a two days' talk, one man rose and offered to pay £4 for his son's education, and soon others followed. In the first year £200 were received in fees. Four years after £1,300 were received, and in 1908 over £5,000.

Just three years after this experiment in fees had begun, the Fingoes, who live beyond the Kei River, encouraged and guided by Captain Blyth, their magistrate, and Mr. Ross, their missionary, became ambitious to have an institution of their own. They applied to Dr. Stewart to help them. He promised to do so if they would raise £1,000 as a proof of their sincerity. In four or five months Dr. Stewart was called by them to come and receive the money, and when he arrived he saw a table standing on the veldt with £1,450 in silver, which the people themselves had contributed. As the buildings rose, the people grew ambitious to see a larger institution, and collected again about £1,500 in silver. Thus one creation of self-help gave birth to an offspring which annually grows larger and more numerous.

In Uganda there is one of the most striking examples of the financial independence which can be reached when it is aimed at from the first, and the type of the work is guided into an African, rather than a European mould. There all the educational, all the church work, the teachers,

evangelists and clergy are paid by the native Church. The salaries are very low, yet an agency is there which is fit to do the work, and a mighty elevation of the people has taken place, through agents paid by the people themselves.

When we come to consider the work of propagating the Church, we find the African at his best.

(f) Missionary zeal

Throughout the world the great accessions to the native Church have not been so much the direct outcome of the evangelistic work of the European as of the native evangelist. The power of a missionary has lain more in his capacity for inspiring and organizing the work of others than in the direct preaching he himself has done.

A missionary of a somewhat unorganized mission in Central Africa once said to the writer as he came up from school in the evening, 'Why do you waste your time teaching the rudiments of education to that handful of pupils? On my station we only need to stand on the verandah and we have a congregation. We spend our days in preaching to the heathen.' Next day we were out on tour together. As we drew near to a distant village we found a congregation assembled, and a native preaching to them. In the morning we were awakened by the horn blowing for public worship, and before my friend was out of bed he heard the sound of praise and the gospel being declared by a native Christian. Then I answered him. 'In a hundred villages the same gospel is being proclaimed by native preachers this morning while we sit here. That is why I teach in the school.' 'And in many villages,' he said, 'there is no one to preach, because I am here.'

Some of the best advances in the history of Africa's evangelization have taken place through

the energy of the native Church. The Calabar mission was started there by the freed slaves of Jamaica. The Yoruba and Niger missions were sent forth by the native Church of Sierra Leone, and not only were the missionaries natives of Africa under an African bishop, but the expenses of the mission were almost all borne by the native Church. The Basutoland Church opened its famous mission in Barotseland as an extension under M. Coillard. In Uganda the evangelization of the neighbouring kingdoms has been done by missionary parties of the native Church, who sent forth their own teachers, and paid their salaries. In Livingstonia each station has attached to it a foreign mission hinterland, which is worked by native teachers, and towards the expenses of which the native Church makes a grant from year to year. How effective these indigenous extensions are may be seen in the history of many a local mission. Churches have been organized, the heathenism of whole provinces has been scattered, and the people who were evangelized by the parent Church have in turn become evangelists of others.

It is not only by paid evangelists that the work is done, for in most living churches there is a vast, unpaid, and unappointed agency always at work. In Calabar, 'it is seldom that in any outlying districts there will not be found a house that is used for a meeting place, and although no paid evangelist has settled among them, one man will make it his duty to hold regular service on the Sabbath.' In Nyasaland hundreds of unpaid preachers hold services every Sabbath in the little village chapels, and in the open spaces. It is largely through such agency that the great increases to the Church take place, and the Christian life is kept lively and extensive.

One of the most wonderful Christians in Africa whom the past century saw was Bishop Samuel Crowther. Sold as a slave, he was rescued by a British cruiser and landed at Sierra Leone. There and in Britain he received a thorough education and proved himself a man of exceptional ability. He was sent with the earlier expeditions to open work on the Niger and proved his devotion and sanity over and over again. He got concessions from Muhammadan chiefs, whose minds seemed steeled against the European. He seemed to know exactly what to say at the critical moment, and by which avenue to find a favourable approach to enemies. His zeal for the conversion of Africa burned brighter and brighter with his advancing years, and when he died he left a name which will always be honoured in the annals of the African Church.

Experience seems to teach, however, that the African is most efficient as an evangelist when guided and controlled. The time has not come yet, when his mental balance, or his religious character, are ready for entire and unguided responsibility. The greatest and most permanent extensions have been made, where his zeal and energy have been allowed great scope, a wise and fatherly superintendence being maintained by the European. Of course, as in all societies where the human mingles with the divine, there are obvious drawbacks, and this is true of the young African Church even where its growth seems most promising. There is a risk in a certain case of a mistaken presentation of great Christian truths owing to merely partial education. There is a risk of insufficient emphasis on the great matters of Christian conduct such as temperance, truthfulness and industry. There is the risk even of moral lapses on the part of the

evangelist himself, for old tendencies remain strong and the African evangelist though usually victorious has a constant struggle with temptation.

Yet everywhere imperceptibly, yet surely, the Church is growing. New churches are being founded, old foundations are being strengthened. We have mentioned the harvest of Uganda. Special mention of particular societies in a work of this kind may seem invidious yet we may perhaps give one example. In South-East and West Africa the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society report over 2,600 fully accredited local preachers. Their West African missions cost the parent society about £10,000 annually, and about £35,000 a year is raised in the field itself. One church on the coast has installed electric light at its own expense —a source of much innocent gratification to the dusky congregation!

From reflections on these results and the encouraging side of missionary life we pass to the most important consideration of all—the urgent need for effective preparation of the African evangelist. The training of a native ministry is the consummation of all the church and educational work of the missionary. For the ordinary native evangelist there are usually short courses of instruction in Biblical and doctrinal subjects. In Uganda there are five centres where catechists and evangelists are trained. In Livingstonia, besides the weekly sermon lesson which is given at the various stations to the voluntary village preachers, a three years' course is given at the institution to the evangelists. In Lagos the course is for two years, and during their training the men engage in itinerating and evangelizing. On the Gold Coast all Christian workers are prepared by attending a three years' course at one of the two seminaries.

Very few missions, however have a properly systematized college course. At Sierra Leone there is the well-known college of Fourah Bay, from which a continuous stream of clergy has poured out. No less than one hundred and fifty African clergy have been ordained in the Church Missionary Society missions of the West Coast. It must be held in mind that this mission is now nearly a hundred years old. The Wesleyan missions on the West Coast are slightly older than the Church Missionary Society and have sixty ordained natives at work. In the Uganda mission, which is about the same age as the Nyasaland missions, there are thirty-one ordained clergy. Numerically the development of the native Church in Madagascar far exceeds anything on the continent of Africa. Here there are connected with the L.M.S. 121,613 Christian adherents, and 29,588[1] communicants, and for these there are now 503 ordained native preachers.

It is difficult to generalize about the production of a native ministry. Differences must of course appear under the ecclesiastical policy which various missions follow. But for all, there must always be a guiding principle of caution, which will not suddenly lay hands on any man. A long knowledge of the characters of each candidate for ordination is more essential than in Europe. But the idea of how much special theological training is necessary seems to differ as much in Africa as in the Home Church. On one main point all, however, are agreed. To secure an efficient Christian Church in Africa, founded on sound and enduring lines, no pains must be spared in training and preparing an earnest, zealous and united pastorate.

[1] These figures are less than those on p. 143. This is partly accounted for by the fact that in 1896–7 half of the congregations of the L.M.S. were handed over to the Paris Society.

The office-bearers in the Church of Africa must be thoroughly equipped and qualified for the tremendous responsibility that is theirs. The goal may seem distant for some, but all aim towards that day when the African Church will be led by its own pastors, and when the wide surrounding paganism will be penetrated by the proclamation of the Gospel by Africa's own evangelists.

Conclusion

We have wandered full circle and return in retrospect to the question confronting us at the outset. Is Africa changing? Are there possibilities of a Christian Africa which the results thus far of mission work unfold? We have learnt, in however sketchy a survey, something of the manifold activities and widely varying results of missions. As pioneer, as peacemaker, as civilizing and moral agent, lastly and chiefly as Christ's messenger, the influence of the missionary has penetrated into the deepest recesses of the land and is gradually permeating its whole life. 'First the seed then the ear.' At present it is mere seed-time, but 'under the soil the green shoots are moving.' There still remains so much to achieve, such an incalculable amount to be done ere any harvest may be looked for, but in each of these results which we see—social, tribal and religious—can we not realize the infinite possibilities of a Christian Africa, should the efforts on her behalf be strengthened and advanced by the members of the Christian Church.

CHAPTER VII

The Needs of Pagan Africa

Analytical Index

THE EXTENT OF MISSIONARY OCCUPATION.
- (*a*) Spanish West Africa.
- (*b*) French West Africa.
- (*c*) British West Africa.
- (*d*) German West Africa.
- (*e*) Liberia.
- (*f*) The Congo.
- (*g*) Portuguese Angola.
- (*h*) South Africa.
- (*i*) Madagascar.
- (*j*) Portuguese East Africa.
- (*k*) German East Africa.
- (*l*) British East Africa.
- (*m*) The Sudan.
- (*n*) Summary.

DIFFICULTIES OF MISSIONARY WORK.
- (*a*) Geographical and Climatic.
- (*b*) Tribal Hindrances.
- (*c*) Scattered Population.
- (*d*) Language.
- (*e*) Ethiopianism.

URGENCY OF THE SITUATION.
- (*a*) The Population.
- (*b*) The Advance of Islam.
- (*c*) Advance of Civilization.

CONCLUSION.

A HURRIED glance over pagan Africa, with its numerous missionary societies and considerable

staff of agents, might give one the impression that the continent is fairly well occupied, and that an adequate force of missionaries is now in possession. Such a wrong impression is gained through the fact that the map of Africa is chiefly filled in at points where European contact has made names familiar, and at these known points there is a certain adequacy of occupation. A detailed examination of the known population soon convinces one, however, that numerous tribes have never been touched by the Christian Church, and in most places of occupation the staff is terribly inadequate.

The extent of missionary occupation

Beginning in the north-west, we have the Spanish Protectorate of Rio de Oro, with a population of perhaps 400,000, and here there are no Christian missions. The island of Fernando Po was occupied in 1840 by the Baptist Missionary Society, but, after a few years, Roman Catholic missionaries came, and the Protestants were driven out of the island. Since 1870 the Primitive Methodists have had a little mission which has met with some success. Apart from this island occupation Spanish Africa is without a missionary.

(a) Spanish West Africa

Next we come to a great stretch of a continent which belongs to France. This huge slice is equal to three times the size of France, and has a population of over nine millions. It includes the old settlements of the Senegal, the fabled regions of the Upper Niger, and the great territory of the Sudan. On the Senegal river there is a small mission of the Paris Society. On the Guinea Coast, Ivory Coast, and the eastern extremity of the Dahomey Coast there are small missions. The

(b) French West Africa

whole interior, however, is untouched, and with the exception of those occupying a fringe of the coast line, these nine millions of people are without the gospel

(c) British West Africa

Glancing at the map we notice that British rule begins in North-West Gambia, a small protectorate with a population of 91,000. This colony has only one little mission with two Europeans. The natives are partly pagans and partly Muhammadans. As we travel south, Sierra Leone is the next British colony which we meet. Here we have behind us a century of mission work, and there is an adequate occupation near the coast. Attempts to reach the heathen tribes of the interior are, however, only of recent date. With the force of native Christians now available in Sierra Leone, what is wanted for full occupation is probably a deeper feeling of responsibility among the native Christians for those pagan tribes in their immediate hinterland. On the Gold Coast the Wesleyans and Basel Mission are working among the two millions of natives. Before they may adequately overtake their field their staffs would require to be doubled. In Lagos and the Yoruba country, now known as part of Southern Nigeria, a number of missionary societies are at work, but the whole district east of the Yoruba country, as far as the west bank of the Niger is absolutely without the gospel.

In Northern Nigeria the people are mostly Muhammadan, though a few short years ago they were entirely pagan. Still, there are considerable pagan tribes who have hitherto repulsed the advances of Muhammadanism. There are the Adamawa, for example, who live in the Highlands to the south of the Benue. From their high level they have been accustomed to issue forth to raid the

Hausa caravans and to defy the Muhammadans. Along the south bank of the Benue are several pagan tribes, amongst all of whom no mission work has yet been done.

What missions there are on the Lower Niger and on the Cross River have so far clung to the coast and water highways and have not succeeded to any large extent in reaching the interior tribes. Between the Cross River and the Benue there are no missions. The delta of the Niger is covered by swamps and impenetrable forests pierced by streams and creeks, along which numerous pagan tribes live, bound by every evil custom, including cannibalism and human sacrifice. Here neither missionaries nor traders have settled nor influenced the natives to any degree. The history of this region has been one of perpetual revolts and insurrections, and after forty years' intercourse with Europeans scarcely any improvement can be observed ten miles from the river banks.

(d) German West Africa

Togo, a German colony, has a population of a million. Here the North German Society is working energetically, but its furthest north station hardly reaches the centre of the colony, and the two northerly provinces are still unevangelized. In the German Cameroons there is a population of four millions. Here the Basel and American Presbyterian Missions are working. The Government is friendly and encourages the educational efforts of the missions. Here again the missions' influence has scarcely penetrated beyond the coast line, and seven-eighths of the land is entirely unreached.

The free state of Liberia has the name of being a Christian state. The immigrant negroes, freed slaves from America, make profession of being

Christians, but they are somewhat decadent Christians, and the great majority of the two million natives proper of the country are still untouched by Christian missions.

(e) Liberia

The French Congo is a territory equal to two and a half times the size of France, and with a population of perhaps twelve millions. In this vast territory there are only four small stations worked by the Paris Society. These are situated on the navigable part of the Ogorve, and conduct a fine spiritual work which has met with some success. Ten years ago there were 1,600 Church members. But the whole of that vast territory between the Ogorve and the Congo is without a single missionary. To the north of the Ogorve are the Fans (or Mpongwe), a cannibal people, whose wild incursion from the east to the west overturned nations and spread the wildest terror. The French mission has been touching their outskirts, and the whole Bible is translated into their language. This important tribe, which, if won for Christ, would act as a strong bulwark against the approach of Islam, is still, alas! largely out of the reach of Christian missions. Missionaries in the French Congo reckon that to make an effective advance from Ogorve 180 new European missionaries would be required and a similar number to advance from the Congo as a base.

(f) The Congo

The Belgian Congo is a great region of 900,000 square miles. Its population was once estimated at thirty million, but the massacres, scatterings, and famine that have followed on the oppression of the Government have greatly diminished the population. Here the Baptists were the first Protestant missionaries. They have been followed by the

Swedish Mission, American Presbyterians, Congo Balolos and other societies. But nearly all their work is along the left bank of the river, and there are no missions beyond the Stanley Falls. The great affluent—the Kasai—has only two or three stations, and the Ubangi is entirely unoccupied. Many of the tribes are cannibalistic but with high artistic skill. Most of them are morally of a very low type. Some are ready for occupation, others are absolutely opposed to the presence of the missionary, and meanwhile the great opportunity of these 9,500 miles of navigable waterway is not being properly used. The impression left by Europe on those great regions has been one of inordinate greed for the products of their soil, a disrespect for native rights, and a readiness to shed blood. The peaceable message of the Gospel has only been heard at a few isolated points. In recent years considerable obstacles were placed in the way of Protestant missionary societies, sites were refused to them, and their adherents subjected to some persecution. They were reaping the reward of their brave exposure of administrative atrocities. Now a better day seems to be dawning, and new opportunities are being offered to the messengers of the Gospel.

(g) Portuguese Angola

Portuguese Angola extends over an area of half a million square miles. It has a scattered population of perhaps seven millions. Three and four hundred years ago flourishing Roman Catholic missions were carried on at various centres, but these collapsed, and little of their fruit remained. The interior became a great hunting ground for slaves, and the port Loanda flourished as a collecting market for them. This province has scarcely yet recovered from the degradation of these days, when the strong-

er people learned to live by raiding their neighbours, and weaker peoples were cut off entirely. There are missions in the St. Salvador and Loanda districts at Benguella and Bihe, and at long intervals between the latter and Miveru. But these are only isolated points, and many of the tribes that lie between these stations are not yet occupied. Other opposing forces meanwhile are gathering power. Slave-raiding for the San Thomé plantations still goes on. Great rum distilleries have been started which distribute their curse over the whole province, and a certain amount of opposition has been roused against the Protestant missions owing to their connexion with the agitation against slavery.

(h) South Africa

In German South-West Africa and in British South Africa there are now goodly missionary forces. But the task which lies before them in greater than ever it was. Owing to the rapid increase of the population, as well as owing to the lack of aggressive work by many of the Christian churches, there are probably more heathen in South Africa to-day than there were a century ago. Out of a native and coloured population of over five million, there are only 150,000 communicants, though possibly nearly a million would call themselves Christians. This leaves at least four million heathen for the churches to conquer.

(i) Madagascar

Crossing the ocean we come to the great island of Madagascar, the scene of the most remarkable Christian movement of the past century. The high levels about the capital have had large opportunities of hearing the gospel, yet the surprising fact remains that after all these years of triumphant

progress, three-quarters of the island is still un-evangelized.

In the nine northern provinces, with a population of half a million, there are only two European missionaries. One of the southern provinces has neither a European nor native evangelist. In addition to these unoccupied parts we must consider the great inadequacy of the present staff for the work of guiding and consolidating the numerous offshoots of the native Church. Great lapsing has taken place through the activity of the Catholics and the strong opposition of the late governor to all forms of religious work. A better and more tolerant administration, however, is likely to be carried on by the new governor.

(j) Portuguese East Africa

When we come to Portuguese East Africa we find a huge field almost without missions. At Delagoa Bay and Beira and inland from Inhambane there are mission stations, but the interior south of the Zambesi has none, and beyond a little work on the shores of Lake Nyasa the northern province of Mozambique is entirely unoccupied. Here Muhammadanism is rapidly making headway among the Yao, but other great tribes, such as the Anguru, who border on British territory, are wholly pagan, and present a very degraded and restless type of tribal life. The Swiss mission at Delagoa Bay has proved that it is possible to work harmoniously with the Portuguese Government, and even to get their friendly co-operation.

(k) German East Africa

German East Africa is a vast territory equal to nearly three times the size of the German Empire. Missions are strategically situated for the future conquest of the land, but as yet they are only touching small portions of the population.

Other forces are rapidly extending into every corner of the land, administration agents, commercial enterprises and an active Muhammadan propaganda. The Christian forces are totally inadequate to the great task of rapid evangelization. The populous region to the south and west of Lake Victoria Nyanza could furnish ample room for two hundred new European missionaries.

(1) British East Africa

When we come to British East Africa we find a country five times the size of England and Wales, with a population of about nine millions. Here eight missionary societies are at work with a delightful spirit of comity, but their operations are far from reaching all the pagan populations. In the protectorate which is known as British East Africa three-fourths of the territory is unreached by Christian missions, although three-quarters of a century have passed since Krapf began at Mombasa his ambitious plans for the evangelization of Central Africa. In Uganda, in spite of the vast extensions of the Church there, one-half of the population is still unevangelized. Bishop Tucker estimates that a hundred European missionaries and three thousand native evangelists are required before the waiting fields can be overtaken. Other forces which are inimical to Christianity and the very existence of the tribes are rapidly extending all over the country. Hollis, in his preface to *The Masai*, emphasizes the need of Christian work among this most interesting people, 'for it is only by the gradual and peaceful civilization of the tribe that they can be saved from extinction. . . . It has often been proved in other parts of the globe that the native, on the advent of the white man, alters his habits or ceases to exist, and it is to be hoped that the Masai will choose the first of these alternatives.'

Finally we come to the Sudan, which extends from the Nile to the Niger. Within this vast region, which is partly under British and partly under French protection, there is scarcely a single mission. Yet here we have great tribes settled in lands as large as many of the great states of Europe, now in the crisis of their life, fighting an encroaching Muhammadanism, whose inroads are as yet undisputed by the Christian Church.

(m) The Sudan

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan covers 950,000 square miles, and already Muhammadanism is rapidly getting complete sway and its progress has been by a most bloody path. Sir Reginald Wingate estimates that prior to the Mahdi's power there was a population of eight and a half million here: of these three and a half million were swept away by famine and disease, and three and a quarter million were killed in engagements with British and Egyptian troops and intertribal wars. Several pagan tribes were wellnigh obliterated. Up to the present mission work has been prohibited among the Muhammadan peoples, but pagan tribes are open to the messenger of Christ. The Church Missionary Society has attempted work among the Dinkhas, an interesting Nilotic race, who live in the deepest social degradation.

At the Edinburgh Conference Dr. Karl Kumm mentioned the names of twenty-six tribes whom he had visited in the Central Sudan who are as yet without the gospel. In the northern parts Islam has been triumphant, but the pagan tribes, driven out of their rich valleys, have taken refuge in the mountainous regions and the Sudd country and parts of the Shari Valley. Here they maintain their independence. Now that the warring and enslaving by Muhammadan tribes is being sup-

pressed by European governments, the more subtle forces of superior education and prestige are threatening to conquer where warlike measures failed. If the tribes are to be saved from becoming fanatical Muhammadans, and so presenting a more impenetrable barrier to Christianity, as well as a continual menace to the peace of the continent, the Christian Church must waken at once, to dispute with Islam possession of these pagan peoples.

(n) Summary

Even this scanty sketch serves to show what large areas of pagan Africa there are in which the gloom of fetishism is unrelieved by the bright hope of the Christian faith. Millions shrouded in hopeless and fearsome superstition still send their great voiceless appeal to Christendom. The figures turn the imagination dizzy. We glance down the map whose little patches of colour hold such significance, representing vast stretches of country teeming with thousands and thousands of God's creatures who as yet know Him not, and are 'fast bound' in the 'misery and iron' of paganism In Portuguese Guinea there are 800,000 people without a Protestant missionary. In Dahomey it is the same. In French Guinea and on the Ivory Coast and its hinterland the figures rise higher and higher. Wherever the name of some great protectorate catches the eye, it is the same. Eastern Liberia, Nigeria, parts of the Cameroons, in French and Belgian Congo, in Angola. In each case the sad total of unevangelized heathen runs into millions. This too, alas, holds good of the East Coast in almost equal degree. In all it is calculated that at least seventy millions of pagan Africans have never heard the name of Christ, and when we add to this the insufficiency of occupation in regions where

workers are bravely toiling, the task that lies before the Christian Church seems as tremendous as it is imperative.

'Africa has suffered many wrongs in the past at the hands of the stronger nations of Christendom, and she is suffering wrongs at their hands to-day; but the greatest wrong, and that from which she is suffering most, is being inflicted by the Church of Christ. It consists in withholding from so many of her children the knowledge of the Christ. The flags of Christian nations float over nearly the whole of Africa, but there are large domains in which not a mission station has been planted. The untouched regions of Africa are a clamant call to the Church.'

Difficulties of missionary work

What is it in Africa which hinders the rapid extension of the kingdom of Christ? These days have seen the removal of many insurmountable barriers, but with all the preparations that have been made, there still remains this vast task to be undertaken. No one with the least experience of African missions would deny for a moment the many and serious difficulties that confront the worker in this field. Various obstacles and hindrances, some of them very serious, bar progress at every turn, and must be met with a statesmanlike directness and determination to conquer them. No one supposes this can be done in a day, or even a lifetime, but the faith that can remove mountains can help even here beyond the belief of man. If we examine the chief of these difficulties in some detail, we will gain a clearer idea of what lies before the African missionary.

First, there are geographical and climatic impediments. Many of the unevangelized tribes live in

countries where no European can settle with safety —in swampy low levels where malaria breeds and in which no continued residence is possible for a European. Happily a strong band of efficient native evangelists is rising, and theirs must be the heroic task of entering these deadly regions. They will not be immune to fever, and they too must lay down their lives if the people are to be evangelized, but the climatic conditions will not be so disastrous to them as to the European.

(a) Geographical and climatic

The presence of sleeping-sickness in a district is now beginning to have very large bearings on the relation of missions to the natives. Fifteen years ago it did not attract much attention, and the extent of its ravages were not known. It was known in the old slaving days as 'negro lethargy', and for some centuries it has been known on the West Coast. Now with a slow and irresistible progress it is spreading itself over the Continent. It crept along the West Coast from Senegambia to Loanda; it spread up the Congo, decimating villages and leaving a dreadful spoor of death. When it appeared in Uganda widespread attention was drawn to its havoc, and government commissions were sent to investigate. After careful research the carrying agent was discovered to be a species of the tsetse fly. In Uganda islands were depopulated, and specially by the Lake shore tens of thousands of the natives died. It has now spread south to North-Eastern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is still at its earlier stages there, and the governments are making strenuous efforts to stay its progress. When it breaks out Europeans are forbidden to travel and villages are shifted out of the infected belt of country. Medical science has entered the field and maintains strenuous warfare

against the scourge by means of preventive and alleviating measures, but so far no sure cure has yet been found for the disease.

Then there are the regions in the far interior with which there are no established lines of communication. It would be folly to penetrate there without maintaining a constant contact with the outside world. Too many lives have been lost and too much money squandered in unwise attempts to reach the far interior before the places nearer the lines of communication with the outside world have been occupied. The Church must proceed strategically, developing its missions farther and farther into the interior, taking care that no impassable gaps are left which would cut off its further stations from all contact with the civilized world.

We speak of all Africa being open to the messengers of Christ, but this is not an exact statement.

(b) Tribal hindrances

There are still many powerful chiefs who have an inveterate hatred of the gospel and will not permit missionary occupation. Most of these chiefs are now under European Governments, and the general policy of the administration is not to permit missionaries to enter where the local chiefs will not have them. The officials feel that whether the missionary acknowledges it or not, they are responsible for the lives of Europeans in their districts, and they will not allow a rash hazarding of life among those who have declared their opposition. Besides, they are responsible for peace, and when a war breaks out, though it may be for the sake of opening doors which are wilfully closed against civilization, they know that they will be in danger of reprimands from a timorous and economical home government. Especially do they feel the necessity of guarding the people from strife in

fanatically Muhammadan countries. The eager pioneer will therefore find many a people, whose darkness calls out to him for immediate help, closed against him by the attitude of the native chief.

Even supposing his presence and teachings are tolerated, the missionary will find tribal loyalty a great barrier where the chief hates his doctrines. This has been proved in East Africa, when in some cases no progress is made among the people because the heart of the chief is hardened. The following illustrates this loyalty to the chief. 'When will you come to Christ'? said a missionary to a young native. 'When my chief does,' he replied. 'But what if he goes to hell,' again asked the missionary somewhat injudiciously. 'Then I shall go with him'. The consequence of this solid loyalty is that missionaries often feel that the whole mass of the people present a united front against his appeal. There seems an entire absence of those who have the courage to take independent action. To the African the unit is not the individual but the clan or tribe, and independent action is anti-social and difficult beyond anything we experience in our higher civilization.

On the other hand, when some leader is brought to Christ, it appears as if a stream had burst its banks and all the waters were flowing. One of the causes of the great progress in Uganda, for example, has been that the chiefs and leaders of the people have yielded to the gospel. In mass movements of this nature, there is, of course, a grave danger. It is so difficult to distinguish those who have come into personal touch with Christ, from those who are only following a chief, and the admission of large numbers who follow others and have not yet been united to Christ must mean the permanent lowering of the tone of the Church.

Some peoples, especially the broken and disorganized peoples, are more responsive to the Gospel than others. The raided Manganja on the Shiré Highlands have answered the gospel more rapidly than the more warlike Yao. The harassed Bechuana responded more rapidly than the military Matabele. Where tribes have lived and grown rich and famous by their marauding life missions find great obstacles to progress. Perhaps it is simply the organization of the people, as with the Masai or Matabele, into regiments of young warriors who live and are trained for the shedding of blood, that presents the wall of opposition. With these tribes the whole social structure of the people is built on lines which cannot be harmonized with the message of the gospel, and before Christianity can make any headway the tribal life must be completely revolutionized. Perhaps there are customs, especially connected with the initiation of youths to manhood, and girls to womanhood, which are cherished as essential to the prosperity of the tribe, and these must be abolished before any youth can become a Christian. Such obstacles seem for a time insurmountable. But the advance of civilization and the establishment of European administration are rapidly disintegrating the ancient tribal organizations and social customs, and by this very disintegration are preparing a way for the messengers of the gospel.

Another hindrance is the scattered nature of some populations, a situation which necessitates a far greater army of European missionaries than is required for the same population in the crowded areas of India and China. All India could be accommodated within the three Congo territories, yet the entire population of the continent

(c) Scattered population

of Africa is not equal to two-thirds of that of India. In Africa the average population is only fifteen to the square mile, while in China it is two hundred and fifty. In Spanish Africa there are only three persons to the square mile, and in large tracts of German West Africa there is a still smaller population.

Besides this scanty distribution of the people there are tribes which, from their wandering pastoral occupations, cannot be held to one place, and others, such as the Bushmen and Pygmies, who live in very small communities, without settled abodes, and at vast distances from one another. The coming of the missionary invariably leads to the gathering together and settlement of these wandering peoples, but before they can be gathered they must first be sought and their confidence gained. For men who have learned the infinite value of a human soul this task will be stimulating enough, for it is not in masses we find the thrill of seeking the lost, but in single men and women who speak to us out of a living history and appeal to us as individuals. Did not Christ give His life for them?

(d) Language

Another impediment to rapid evangelization is the multiplicity of African languages. It is calculated that in Africa there are no less than 843 languages and dialects. The wide difference in the language of neigbouring tribes is accounted for by the great migrations of tribes, especially in the past century. When people with widely different histories and origins have come to live near one another, the wide variety of these languages make evangelization a great difficulty. In East Africa, tribes of Nilotic and of Bantu races will be found close to one another, with little similarity in the structure

of their language. In West Africa Bantu and Negro races actually touch one another, yet between them there can be no communication. In one mission-field there are no less than thirty different tongues, and it is quite a common thing for missionaries to use two distinct languages on the one station.

But while there are districts where widely varied languages are used, we must remember on the other hand, that many of the dialects are as closely allied as the provincial dialects of England and Scotland, and however they may confuse the European foreigness, a dozen varieties may make little difference to the freedom of communication which one native may have with his fellows. As tribal war ceases, and paths which were closed by feuds in the past are opened, the intercourse of tribes with one another is increasing, and many a dialect is being lost by its merging into that of its more robust neighbour. This is a matter of regret to the philologist, but not to the evangelist.

The diffusion of languages ought to be a guide towards missionary extension, more than the geographical distribution of tribes. For example, the Basuto Mission extended to Barotseland, nearly a thousand miles to the north, because they found that the language was one. The Basuto off-shoot called the Makololo, the tribe so deeply associated with Livingstone, had passed on its wild marauding career as far north as the Zambesi. Among other tribes which they conquered were the Barotse. Wherever they conquered they imposed their language on the people, and long after the Makololo had disappeared, and the Barotse had, in turn, become a mighty people, the Sesuto language remained. Hence when M. Coillard opened work among the Barotse he was able to use the Sesuto literature

and to give the people at once the whole Bible in their own language.

So also the Angoni of Nyasaland have passed in their conquering raid from Zululand to Tanganyika, and when the Livingstonia Mission came among them they were able to use South African natives from their mission at Lovedale as their first evangelists, and to give the people at once a literature and the entire Bible.

The advantage of having a language, already reduced to writing, with grammars, dictionaries, and a literature is enormous. The lack of these always means long years of slow and patient labour for which all missionaries are not equally suited. Thus in the vast regions of the Congo basin only one language has as yet a translation of the Bible. Scores of languages must first be learned and reduced to rules and to writing before the tribes there can be adequately evangelized and a church nurtured.

(e) Ethiopianism.

Finally, a considerable set-back to missionary progress has been seen in that native Christian revolt against the control of the European, which has been called Ethiopianism. The feeling of revolt may appear in some form or other in most countries, but it is in South Africa that it assumed organized life and brought sad disaster to the Church. A large number of native ministers seceded from the parent Church, and, carrying with them many of their members, sought to organize a Church of Africa controlled entirely by Africans. This would have been a useful ambition, perhaps, had it not been debased by an intense hatred of Europeans. This antagonism has overclouded the spirit of their Church, and the division that has been caused has weakened the Christian forces.

Congregations have spent their energies in spiteful acts against one another, instead of aggressive service for the heathen. The one body has undermined the influence of the other, and the torn and divided Church has been weakened, its testimony discounted and the eager spirit of brotherliness sadly dwarfed.

In some cases the ecclesiastical revolt has taken the form of seditious teaching against the rule and presence of the European in the country, and when this has been done Government has stepped in with repressive measures. In Natal, especially, the alarm about the spread of Ethiopianism has caused Government to put very severe limitations on mission work with a view to controlling the work of native evangelists and teachers. In 1902 it was enacted that no mission work could be carried on within a native reserve unless under a *resident* European. So disastrous was this law that several churches had to be pulled down, because there was no resident European in charge. Ethiopianism, however, is righting itself The bitterness is disappearing, and a recognition of the degeneration which has begun in all the work which the Africans have controlled themselves, is leading many to come back to a sense of their need of the European. Such, then, are some of the main difficulties which render mission work so much more complex than those at home can realize. We must also remember that after all these difficulties have been considered there still remains the root one, namely, the fetters of ingrained custom. Polygamy, drunkenness, evil dances and initiation ceremonies, all these provide the joy of life for the African, and the love for all the pleasure they bring to him hinders him from accepting the gospel.

Can anyone doubt the call of pagan Africa

on the Church? When will day dawn and the night be gone? Consideration of this tremendous question forces home upon us many things that make the call very urgent.

Urgency of the situation

First there is the population. However great the contribution made by explorers and travellers to a clearing up of the geographical problems of Africa, the greatest result of their work was the discovery of the vast populations that they found to exist in this once closed continent. That a rich land, peopled by many tribes, existed in the interior of Africa was a discovery that has influenced the whole course of European history.

(a) The Population

The population of Africa is not dense when we compare it with that of some Asiatic lands. Perhaps in the whole continent there are not more than one hundred and sixty millions of people. That only gives a population of fifteen to the square mile, while China, as mentioned above, has two hundred and fifty to the square mile. There are also regions where vast tracks of country have no people at all, or only little hamlets scattered at great distances from one another. But along the river courses, where there has been settled government, and by the shores of the great lakes, the population is crowded. When Livingstone arrived at Lake Nyasa, he wrote, 'Never before in Africa have we seen anything like the dense population on the shores of Lake Nyasa. In the south-western part there was an almost unbroken chain of villages. On the beach of wellnigh every little sand bay dark crowds were standing gazing at the novel sight of a boat under sail; wherever we landed we were surrounded in a few seconds by hundreds of men, women and children who hastened to have a

stare at the "wild animals".' But further on he saw how 'the population had all been swept away; ruined villages, broken utensils and human skeletons, met with at every turn, told the same tale. This was the result of the Angoni raids. To-day, when peace has been well established for a generation, that desolated shore is covered for scores of miles by village after village, so closely built that they seem like one continuous town. The native population of the Lower Shiré River increased from one thousand in 1891 to fourteen thousand in 1896, because of the suppression of the slave trade.

This may be taken as fairly descriptive of many other parts of Africa. Bentley describes much the same history in certain regions of the Congo. Natal, too, before the rise of the Zulu kingdom, had been densely peopled by the Abambo and others. Under Chaka it is reckoned that one million natives lost their lives, and the land was almost denuded of inhabitants. Now, however, under white rule, the population is quickly rising.

The chart of the previous progress of African population makes a most varying diagram, but under settled government it is constantly and rapidly ascending. In the past the continent has been devastated by intertribal war, the slave traffic, ravaging pestilences, such as small-pox and sleeping-sickness, and brutal customs, such as infanticide and human sacrifice. These all combined must have claimed a dreadful tale of victims year by year, and now when, under the paternal rule of European powers, most of these enemies of life are disappearing, the coming years must see a large increase to the population, for the African is prolific beyond all races.

From calamity after calamity the African has risen irrepressible, and now that peaceable govern-

ment is stopping those devastations that slew their millions annually, the population is increasing at a wonderful rate. In a few years the pagan population will be not seventy million, but one hundred million, and the disproportion between Christian and pagan population is, under the present conditions, bound to be a growing one, for the natural increase of paganism is at present greater than the largest possible Christian increase that can arise from the present limited efforts of the Church.

(b) The advance of Islam

Most terrible of all the things that call for urgent action is the swift spread of Islam in Africa. It has had several hundred years' start of Christianity, and in these later years it is pressing on from the north and east with a tremendous force. It comes to the pagan Africans with a somewhat higher belief than they have in their Animism. Its messengers, with the veneer of a higher civilization, seem to belong to a great world-conquering power, and appeal to the pride of race. In the spread of Islam in Africa there is a grave danger, the importance of which it is difficult to overestimate. 'Muhammadanism,' says Sir Charles Eliot, one of the wisest administrators who has yet been given to Central Africa, 'can still give the natives a motive for animosity against the Europeans, and a unity of which they are otherwise incapable. Had Uganda become Muhammadan, which was at one moment quite possible, the whole of the Nile Valley and of East Central Africa, might have been in the hands of Muhammadans ready to receive and pass on any wave of fanaticism which might start in the north, and perhaps to start one themselves.' How in the face of the history of Africa British Government officials can be found, who not only show special favour to a

Muhammadan propaganda, but even go out of their way to distribute Korans among their boys, and do what they can to handicap Christian missions, staggers one's imagination. Too often the governments have shown favour to the Muhammadan, using him alone for the police and armed forces, surrounding their stations with Muhammadan strangers and forbidding any educational or evangelistic work in tribes where Islam has got some footing. Such a policy is none other than suicidal for the whole future of Africa.

Happily there are signs of some alteration in the governments' attitude to Muhammadanism since the strong resolutions of the Edinburgh Conference, and in Nyasaland, at least, new facilities have been given to missions at work among populations which are being Muhammadanized.

But for us Christians there is another and greater danger in the approach of Islam than merely the political one. Wherever it conquers, a high barrier is raised against the Christian religion. The spotless white robes that the traveller so much admires and takes to indicate a vast advance on the semi-nakedness of the pagan is too often a calico covering to moral and physical loathsomeness. Who that values Jesus Christ can agree with those that say Islam is more fitted for Africa than Christianity? It is more popular certainly, for it allows the African to indulge in many excesses to which from time immemorial he has been accustomed, and its moral law is easy. But what has Islam done for Africa during the centuries of its occupation? 'It is a religion without the knowledge of the Divine Fatherhood, without compassion for those outside its pale, and to the whole womanhood of Africa it is a religion of despair and doom.'

For Africa there is no redemption in Islam but

fetters and death. And if we are to save the tribes from that menace which our long delay has made so threatening, and if we are not to add new and almost insufferable barriers to the work of evangelism, we must see to it that we present to Muhammadanism, and that speedily, the barrier of an already Christianized people. Beyond that barrier Islam cannot step.

(c) Advance of civilization

Lastly, the tremendous change which the inevitable advance of civilization is daily effecting on Africa urges us to action. Civilization and commerce of themselves cannot elevate a people. History drives this lesson home only too forcibly. Commerce is indeed a necessary colleague of missions, but commerce pure and simple has never raised a nation. In the case of Africa it has frequently had quite a contrary result. It is a very grievous reproach to us that the pioneers of trade are so constantly ahead of missions. Again and again they have proved more numerous, more vigilant, more adventurous. Yet we have infinitely more to give and to gain than the best equipped trader. Africa's relations with commerce in the past have worked for good and have worked for ill. She has had her philanthropists in commerce, single-minded men like Macgregor Laird, Goldie, the Moirs and Mackinnon, who have led great pioneering enterprises of trade refusing to touch any harmful import, content to limit their profits if only they might prepare the way for a better day in Africa. On the other hand she has had her 'Oil River Ruffians' spreading an influence around them utterly deleterious to the country and its inhabitants, and tending to exploitation of the basest kind. Yet they too were pioneers of civilization. It cannot be too much emphasized that

commerce and civilization unaccompanied by Christianity can in the long run only harm and not benefit the awakening continent. As things are now, Christianity must be roused to play her part in determining the changes that are to be lasting. Christianity cannot afford to stand still, but must fight as she never fought before to counteract the harm that civilization and commerce unleavened by any spiritual influence effect on uncivilized peoples.

Civilization, moreover, has a disintegrating effect on the customs of the people and the old beliefs of paganism are shattered. Although this in itself might be considered good its effect is often evil, for nothing is put in the place of the old beliefs and superstitions, and the last state is often worse than the first. With the advance of civilization the old reverence for the unseen spirits fades away. The native becomes more individualistic, and the strong restraints of his social life cease to have any effect The authority of the elders, and of traditional custom, are scorned away. The sceptical and materialistic atmosphere of the Europeans among whom they live is readily absorbed. Now, however evil much of the religious and social life of the African is, there are restraints in it which are absolutely necessary for the race. If these are removed without being replaced by others which are still stronger, one can only foresee a moral chaos into which the African will be plunged, which will inevitably produce the annihilation of the people.

Nor is this all. Civilization not merely removes former restraints and breaks down old customs, but positive evils come in her train. A new immorality, loathsome compared with the old pagan conditions, is eating away the very fibre of the people. They are enervated by luxury and enfeebled by drink. It is true that civilization, European

civilization, may not actually have introduced the vice of drinking, but the crying evils of the liquor traffic started and grew with the advance of commerce on the coasts. In addition to the moral evils brought by civilization there are others, namely, physical ones, which follow on the adoption of new luxuries, imported vices, European clothing, and the native contact with the superior races. Already phthisis is slaying its thousands in South Africa. The Masai are threatened with extinction through the introduction of civilized vices. Whole communities have disappeared in West Africa through indulgence in rum and gin. If these introduced scourges are to be resisted, the Christian Church must be there in time to teach the African how to reject the evil. The missionary must teach the African to take such precautionary measures as will pull him through the crisis of the impact of western life, stronger and better for the new things that have come.

Conclusion

We look back on all that the chapter has unfolded; the appeal of Africa's untouched regions, the urgency of that appear on every hand, the challenge of the obstacles that confront us, and what is the Church's answer? Is she going to rouse herself to seize the day of opportunity and make some adequate reparation for her cruel treatment of Africa in the past, and her no less heartless neglect of the present? Never before has such an opportunity faced her.

A yet graver question arises at this crisis. Does the Christian Church inherently desire to respond to this mighty appeal? Is she stirred in every fibre of her being to come to the rescue at this time on behalf of Africa? If now she folds her hands in sleep, or lazily moves along to her task, other more eager forces will not lag, and harm will be done which long and strenuous effort will be powerless to undo.

CHAPTER VIII

The Church's Task

Analytical Index

PRESENT-DAY OPPORTUNITIES IN THE MISSION-FIELD.
- (*a*) Settled Condition of Tribes.
- (*b*) Development of Means of Communication.
- (*c*) Development of Medical Science.

THE CHURCH'S TASK.
- (*a*) Duty towards Government.
- (*b*) Christianization of Colonial Life.
- (*c*) Redistribution of the Missionary Forces and Co-operation.
- (*d*) Increase of Missionaries.
- (*e*) Development of the Native Church.
- (*f*) Preparation of Literature.

THE APPEAL OF AFRICA.

Present-day opportunities in the mission-field

WE have seen some of the preparations which God has been making by many agents for the evangelization of Africa, and in many of the conditions existing to-day we cannot but see great opportunities for the Church.

One of the greatest is the settlement of the land by strong European Governments. Once the conscience of Europe had been roused by Christian agitators, the civilized nations set themselves strenuously to check the havoc of the slave trade. When they understood the

(a) Settled condition of tribes

administration of territories, and found that their presence there was impossible, and that trade could not progress until peace was established, they proceeded to suppress intertribal war, and to open to the world nations whose fierce life not only worked devastation among the neighbouring tribes, but also forbade all entrance for the outside world. Thus the presence of European Powers in Africa has, on the whole, produced a quieter and more settled tribal life, which no longer presents the old impossible conditions to the missionaries.

(b) Development of means of communication

The increase of trade and European colonization has brought Africa very near to Europe. The continent is circumnavigated by splendidly equipped ocean liners, which arrive at their ports with unbroken regularity, a very different state of affairs from the days when missionaries had sometimes to wait two or three years for a ship to carry them to Africa.

The need for efficient control, and the prosecution of lawful commerce have also intersected Africa with lines of communication. The great waterways are used by flotillas of steamers and light draught barges. The lakes all have their little fleets of steamers. The natural barriers on African rivers, as between Matadi and Stanley Pool on the Congo and over the Murchison Cataracts on the Shiré, are being traversed by railways. The French have vigorously pushed on railways on the West Coast, most of which are built with direct relation to the river routes of the Senegal, the Niger, and their tributaries. On the West Coast of Africa there are at least nineteen short railway lines.

Other great systems are piercing the interior of the Continent. The Cape to Cairo railway from

the south is nearing the Belgian Congo. From Cairo it is open to Khartoum, and has steamer connexion to Gondokoro, 1,100 miles farther south. Victoria Nyanza is linked on to Mombasa, and that long and hazardous journey which took Stanley a hundred and four days to accomplish can now be done luxuriously in three days. The Germans have also begun a railway from Dar-es-salaam to Tanganyika. A line connects Beira with Rhodesia, and soon the Portuguese Angola coast will be joined to the heart of Africa by the Katanga railway.

In addition to this continually growing railway system, telegraph lines are beginning to cover the whole continent. In Uganda and Nyasaland, where the early missionaries waited for eight months or a year for reports from the outside world, or for the transmission home of news of critical events within their bounds, men can now communicate with the home committees more quickly than with their neighbouring mission station.

The difference this has made for efficient mission work and for rapid evangelization is very great. The pioneer parties no longer present their great death roll of men who fell on the march into the interior, or arrived broken in health, only to be immediately sent home. Tribes that were hidden in the remote regions of Central Africa now seem to live at the very doors of Europe.

(c) Development of medical science

Another marvellous opening has been made by medical science. Since the discovery of the cause of malaria and other fevers the health conditions of Africa have been entirely changed. The old records of the West Coast of Africa which gave it the name of the 'white man's grave' are becoming matters of history. That land has not yet become a health

resort, but the sickness and mortality have been greatly reduced.

Since these discoveries of medical science were made there are men who used to be periodically at the gates of death with malarial or tick fever, now they pass years in vigorous health and with scarcely a day's illness. The health and buoyancy and capacity for work of missionaries have been enormously increased, and the death roll greatly decreased.

These are some of the wide movements which God has set agoing for the redemption of the dark continent. These roads cannot, however, have been opened, and this new lease of life given, simply that Europe may grow richer on the wealth of Africa. Are they not the paths by which the Church may enter in, and proclaim 'deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind'?

The Church's task

In view of all these opportunities let us consider the work to which the Church is called. How is she to use the opportunities thus given to her?

(a) Duty towards governments

First of all she has a duty to perform towards those Governments who have assumed the protection of Africa. It is her part to help to purify and ennoble the ambitions of the Governments. These have not come to Africa for the exploitation of the natives or to enrich themselves, but they have undertaken a great trusteeship that these people may learn under their tutelage to appreciate the blessings of Christianity and civilization. Many hard things have been said about the motives that lead to the 'scramble for Africa', and the only way to justify the annexation is for the European Powers to show that they are steadfastly and deliberately engaged in raising the

whole social tone of the people whom they have taken under protection.

Unfortunately this has not yet been demonstrated by all. There still remains the misgovernment of the Belgian Congo, and the remedy for this does not only rest with Belgium. Every European Power which was party to the treaty of Berlin, and five years afterwards, to that of Brussels, accepted a guardianship of the Congo, and only agreed to the allotment of that great territory to the Congo Free State, on the understanding that it would fulfil its beneficent professions towards the native peoples. So long as misrule, and the barbarous treatment of the natives continue, mission work will be severely handicapped, extensions prohibited, and the population itself in danger of being decimated.

None can rouse the conscience of Europe but the Church of Christ. Political agitation would only be misunderstood. Only the work of those who believe in the philanthropy of Christianity can remedy these great wrongs.

The relation of Governments to the drink traffic is a special matter that requires continual agitation. It is not a matter which can be settled by one nation. The hinterlands and boundaries of the various protectorates cannot be policed, and the separating lines are pencil ones on the map, not visible features of the earth. Hence if effective control is to be taken, whether by prohibition or by severe restriction, all the powers should unite in action. A Christian people only can bring this about.

Then there are relationships of government to labour, where systems of forced labour, scarcely distinguishable from slavery, are permitted, or actually enforced by the government itself. Where

these exist there can be no settlement or progress in tribal life, and the natives are exploited to their hurt by those who have undertaken paternal duties towards them. Until these conditions of administrative control are altered the messengers of Christ cannot help the people forward.

It is not that all the relations of Government to the native peoples are antagonistic to missions. On the contrary, in many countries there is a beneficent and paternal care exercised over the people, and the Church is wise which seeks to use this help towards the redemption of Africa, while at the same time never allowing herself to be spiritually fettered by identification with the administration. The Roman Catholics of the early days made the profound mistake of trying to use the officials to force conversion, and to support the Church, frequently with most disastrous results. Yet there are functions of government which greatly assist mission progress. For example, many of the African colonies give grants to education. These grants relieve mission funds to a great extent, and in a land like Africa, where education is a necessary, indeed indispensable, adjunct to missions, every pound given to assist secular education means the releasing of other money for more spiritual work.

A general attitude of friendliness between the government and missions adds a great deal to the influence and the happiness of the missionary. In questions of the marriage law, of the rights of parents to their children, of individual liberty, when the missionary and the official work in harmony, it is far easier to maintain and nurture the life of the Church. A great many solutions of difficult relationships between the government and missionaries have been found in a patient forbearance and a wise and Christian courtesy.

There are necessarily difficulties for the British missionary in German territory, as for the German in British territory, but these need not be insuperable. It is absurd for an Englishman to expect that a French Government will recognize a school in which English is taught instead of French. The Englishman who works in French countries must magnify French and exalt loyalty to France. In Angola we read of a hospital being closed because the medical missionary did not possess a diploma from a Portuguese medical school, and so was not allowed to practise. In Portuguese East Africa, on the other hand, we find a flourishing medical work connected with the Servian mission, because they take the trouble to send their missionaries to Portugal to acquire a Portuguese medical diploma.

In the great work of bringing Christ to Africa we must be ready to spare no pains, and to suppress many insular prejudices. The fact that parts of Africa are not coloured red does not save Britain from responsibility towards these parts. Some of the nations which administer these parts are themselves in spiritual darkness and if we do not fulfil our duty to their colonies, they cannot. In France only a small minority is Protestant. This little Church has already undertaken great responsibilities for Africa. But there is not one missionary in the French Sudan, and not one in the Upper French Congo. Has this fact no significance for the Christians of Britain?

(b) Christianization of colonial life

Another task before the Church is the Christianization of colonial life. In South Africa there are over one million whites in contact with five million natives and coloured people. These Europeans are all, whether they will or no, representatives of Christianity to the

natives. Day by day the influence of their lives is working for good or evil amongst the native population. What would it not mean for the future of South Africa, if we found there a Colonial Church which was throbbing with spiritual life and devotion to Christ's kingdom? Unfortunately, this is not the usual type in the towns and villages. And in the scattered mines and farms the Church at home has left too many of her children uncared for. Nowhere does denominational rivalry seem so wasteful. There are villages in South Africa where you will find Dutch Reformed Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Baptist, Congregational, and Church of England congregations, organized and with their clergymen in charge, while many of the growing out-posts of civilization are left without a single pastor to guard their Christian life. It is tragic that this should be so. The disastrous effect of leaving young men, keenly absorbed by the stress of their business, alone among a population of pagans whose low morality is insidiously contaminating, too often has direly harmful results. The Church has a duty to her young colonials which cannot be neglected without hurt to the empire.

Yet the service of colonial life is not altogether lost. There are one or two striking examples of its power in South Africa. The Wesleyan Church in England in 1882 asked its Colonial Church to form itself into a self-governing and self-supporting body. They promised a contribution of £14,000 for the first year, but this was to be reduced year by year until it was no longer necessary. In 1902 it had been reduced to £250. By this time the Colonial Society had raised the local income to £10,000. At the time of the change the membership of the Wesleyans was 20,000. In 1908 it had risen to 78,000, the greater part of whom were

natives. There are now 100 English missionaries, and 120 native ministers, all of them paid by the Colonial Society.

Throughout the Protectorates of Africa, there are many times more European traders and officials than there are missionaries. Why should not these men be so captured for the kingdom of Christ that their influence will be neither negative, nor positively evil, but triumphantly Christian? There are many traders of this type who have consecrated their business career to the service of the kingdom, and who give a positive and visible service for its extension. This much is certain; it is a poor and hurtful policy for a church to allow communities of fellow Europeans to congregate for the purposes of trade, and to be so involved in other work, that there are neither men nor money available for the helping of our own countrymen. There are great numbers of whites on the East Coast of Africa, and on the Zambesi and Shiré River, that are left in this destitute condition. The Church's neglect is neither politic nor humane.

We come now to the more immediate task which the Church must perform within herself and on the mission field. We have seen how great a tract of country in Africa is still unoccupied. If we are seriously and systematically to fulfil our duty to these unevangelized parts a great change in present conditions is needed.

(c) Redistribution of missionary forces and co-operation

The initial step must be a proper distribution of the missionary forces. There are certain strategic positions that must be occupied. When trade is projecting its commercial outposts missions ought to be ahead. They are the true pioneers of civilization, and it is imperative that they procede trade if

the people are to be prepared to meet the new forces of civilization whose extension cannot be stopped. There is also the vigorous advance of Islam, but with the urgent and special call for missionaries to Islam we must not deal, as here we are only considering pagan peoples. Everyone knows that the barriers which a simple paganism presents to Christianity are feeble compared with a fanatical, though perhaps superficial, Muhammadanism. Before we allow this strong wall to rise, we should rapidly and energetically possess the pagan lands which are threatened.

There arises then this pressing question of a redistribution of the missionary forces. The evil of the denominationalism of our Churches, and of the so-called undenominationalism of some evangelicals, is that each body has worked too often without consultation with its neighbour. Frequently, also, previous occupation by, and the natural line of advance of, older missions have not been respected by newcomers. In South Africa, and in Natal especially, this evil has led to great waste of effort. There are native locations attached to some towns where no less than six or seven different denominations conduct their own peculiar type of service. Sometimes the discipline of Christians by one mission has not been respected by a neighbouring mission, and there are even Protestant missions which will not acknowledge the validity of the baptism of other Protestant missions. The available forces for Africa's evangelization are too inadequate to allow of such waste and friction.

We urgently need a spirit of comity and economy in many parts of Africa. There are centres where missions are crowding one another, while other near and needy districts are largely neglected. On the Shiré Highlands, amid a comparatively small

population, there are five missions, besides the old pioneer mission of the Church of Scotland, and within forty or fifty miles to the east and to the south there are heavy populations among whom no missionary lives.

Livingstone long ago warned his committee at home against making South Africa 'a dam of benevolence', and he consistently went further afield. In the early days of the Bechuana mission, the London Missionary Society withdrew from Khama's town which they had pioneered, when they found that the Hermannsburg Mission was prepared to occupy this area. It was not until by mutual arrangement the German missionaries had withdrawn, that Mackenzie finally settled there.

The wastage is also great when one comes to special lines of work; such as hospitals, institutions, printing presses, and literary work. It is folly that each separate mission should try to develop along these special lines, when an arrangement for combined work would greatly economize funds and men, and greatly increase efficiency.

It is time that a central consultative body were at work, like the Propaganda in Rome, which will help to prevent waste and lead to the occupation of all strategic points. Such a reorganization will make hearts sore, and where there is mission property involved, will seem to mean a large initial loss. But these difficulties are not insurmountable.

It is of course not true that these overlapping agencies do no good. Indeed their presence in the field may be very productive. The overlapping, however, tends to unnecessary waste, and the loss of large opportunities. These are days when the Church cannot afford to waste or neglect the openings that God has given.

Happily we seem to be entering rapidly a period

of more scientific mission work. A movement is going on in South Africa for reviewing the distribution of forces. In many fields conferences have started in which missions are agreeing on common principles of work, and delimiting spheres of occupation. Now we have the magnificent plan of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference. That all the bright possibilities which are in this committee may be fully realized, is the earnest wish of every Christian, whose ambitions are for the evangelization of the whole world.

(d) Increase in the number of missionaries

But even the distribution of overcrowded missions will not meet this day of opportunity. Many hundreds more of European missionaries are necessary, The staff on most mission stations is inadequate for its present work. We need men who will relieve the strain on those in the field, and allow more thorough work to be done. We need men who will enter the unevangelized parts, and we need men for specialized work.

Teachers are wanted for the full development of educational work. Clergymen are wanted to pay special heed to the training of native preachers and evangelists. Literary men are wanted who will produce a literature for the Church and translate the Bible into the vernacular.

Let us put aside for ever the idea that any type of man will do for Africa. The African missionary requires special and thorough training for his work. The industrial teacher must be master of his trade, otherwise he cannot teach his apprentices efficiently. The educationist should know the science of teaching, or he wastes his opportunity and develops his schools on futile lines. The doctor must be fully qualified, for he will find himself face to face

with serious work which he cannot delegate to a specialist. The clergyman should know his theology if he is to teach a properly proportioned doctrine and build up a Church on a permanent and true basis. Everyone requires sufficient education to understand the structure of languages, and a mind open enough to appreciate those whose mental attitude is widely different from his own.

Above all, the Church needs for Africa men of firmly established character, who have learned to stand alone with God. It is a sad lookout for the mental development of a missionary if he has not yet learned how to find companionship in books, for he may find no social comrade here. It is a deadlier thing for him if he has not learned the secret of self-control and of growing in Christ. Amid all the demoralizing atmosphere of paganism, he will find it a hard life if he has not learned to renew his soul from day to day in the presence of God Himself.

In Africa, where personal influence goes so far, and loyalty to his master is so characteristic of the native, character counts for more than in most fields. If a man's life grows daily stronger in the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, his missionary service will be of unmeasured value. For, after all, the lesson of missions is not that the world will be won by the launching forth of numbers of Europeans, but by the coming of one and another who have learned something of the wonderful power that God can give to a man wholly consecrated to Him.

(e) Development of the Native Church

We must remember, however, that the resources of the Church do not end in Europe or America. Within the native Church itself will be found a vast army of men who must be used for the evangelization of the continent. For this is not a foreign enterprise only, it is African

also. But the character of the African, at his best, is still subject to so many limitations that, as we have seen, it is not safe or wise to send him forth beyond the supervision and guidance of Europeans. We must remember that if paganism has a sadly downward pull on the European, in spite of the comparative isolation which surrounds him as a foreigner, and in spite of his inheritance of traditions and tastes which have grown through centuries of Christian life, the pull on the native, only recently drawn out of the mire of paganism, and living, as he does, amid sights and sounds which are for him a very active temptation, must be much more insidious. If a full and special education is necessary for the European missionary, how may we expect efficiency, wisdom and character in the African to whom all this training has been short and limited? Experience has proved again and again how much the native Christian's zeal must be guided, and so sure are Government officials of this that in few, if any, countries would they allow the missionary to send his native agents far afield in active propagandist work, unless they could be effectively controlled and superintended by the European.

The Church, therefore, will not seek to evangelize Africa by native agents alone, but by means of Europeans associated with natives. It is well that the usefulness of native evangelists should be emphasized. There are missions in Africa which make no provision for a native agency, but send out their European missionaries as their sole evangelists. This seems an unwise policy, for, as we have already seen, the native possesses natural aptitudes which make him a more efficient evangelist in many cases than the European can be. There is also the question of economy. In many parts of Africa twenty or thirty native agents can

be maintained in comfort at the same cost as one European. Thus one does not hesitate to say that a European with a score of efficient native helpers will be many times more valuable for Africa's evangelization than two Europeans would be, although when we count the cost of their salaries, passages, and furloughs, the two Europeans would cost more than double as much as the one with his large staff of native helpers.

Again, if the native Church is not developed, we do it harm by stultifying the spirit of liberality. To allow the Christian to think that the work of evangelization is a foreign duty, and to provide foreign funds for the payment of all the native agents, fosters dependence on European wealth, and prevents the growth of the spirit of self-help. It is a constant temptation to let one's work run on ahead so rapidly that it becomes a necessity to grow only with the increase of liberality from home. The shrinking of the foreign mission income, and the consequent decrease in the allowance from home, are not always an evil. They may, instead, afford a new opportunity to press upon the native Church the need for more liberality on its own part.

One of the great tasks, therefore, which lie before the Church, if it is to overtake the unoccupied parts of Africa, is to permeate the native Church with the evangelistic spirit, to train native agents thoroughly, and to lay more and more upon the people the duty and privilege of liberality for the extension of the kingdom.

Most of the African Churches are already far ahead of the home Church in this spirit of evangelization. It took hundreds of years to lead the European Church to any realization of its duty to propagate the gospel. To this day but a small pro-

portion of European Christians realize the service that is demanded of them. But there are many African Churches where the great proportion of the members are either giving out of their poverty, or are actively engaged in missionary service for the heathen around them. Who can tell the greatness of the contribution which young Africa may yet make for its own evangelization were it baptized in the spirit and fed with restless zeal for the redemption of the tribes that are still lost in paganism.

To rouse this zeal it will be necessary to devolve upon the natives, as they rise into conscious Christian life, a gradually increasing responsibility for the government and life of their own Church. As they come to realize for what purpose a Church exists in the world, and how they are responsible for its service and discipline, they will learn to plan ambitious schemes for extension. When they have had some voice in the initiation and preparation of these schemes they are bound also to recognize that on them lies the duty of carrying them into execution.

Yet another task that these days demand is the preparation of an adequate literature for the people.

(f) The preparation of literature

In pagan Africa, where no literature exists, the first task is the reduction of languages to writing. Then follows the preparation of school books, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, and the multiplication of books of a devotional and expository type, and also of a general literature which will widen the mental horizon of the people, and increase their general intelligence. We can never have a strong Church nor an efficient native agency unless we give them a literature out of which

they can feed their minds, especially a Christian literature which unites all increase of knowledge with an increase of character. No mission can feel that it has done a permanent work for the people until it has at least put the Bible in their hands. Yet not a single tribe where the gospel has not been proclaimed has a vernacular literature or a portion of the Bible. In many tribes where missionaries have been at work for a quarter of a century and more, owing to the pressure of other work or the inadequate training of the missionaries, even the New Testament is not translated. Already portions of the Bible or the whole book are translated into one hundred African languages. But there are still over four hundred languages and over three hundred dialects which have not been given the Bible.

If Africa is to meet the new intellectual and Christian awakening that has come to it, and to furnish means to project God's gospel everywhere, and feed those who shall come to Him, then she has a great and urgent need for men who will give themselves to this enduring and far penetrating work of giving a Christian literature to the people.

For the accomplishment of these great tasks in the immediate future what is the Church at home to do within her own borders? The mighty changes that have linked the world together and brought the innermost parts of Africa almost within sight and sound of Europe have added to the commercial activities of all lands. They have increased the wealth of Europe. They have added to the lustre of kingdoms and republics. But what have they added to the Christian Church?

The appeal of Africa

They have imposed on her a new enterprise which will demand her best. It would be a grave danger

to our nation if increase of wealth were only to mean an increase of luxury, if the story of great extensions of empire were to settle the Church in pride and ease. Our nation has not been relieved of the crime of her slaving traffic, nor has she contributed to the exploration and annexation of vast reaches of the continent that she may sit down in contemplation of her new treasures with a quiet mind. That which she did in the past has not yet been atoned for. That which she has undertaken to-day has not yet been carried out.

It is a striking thing that for the last thirty-five years the great missionary societies have begun no new enterprise in Africa. The early seventies of last century saw the beginning of some of the most notable missions. Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, the Congo, were all occupied in these days. Since that period, when the minds of the Church were greatly moved by the discoveries of Livingstone and Stanley, practically no new field has been occupied by the great societies. Extensions have been made on all sides from the base of their established work. Many new societies have been formed which have spread more or less into unoccupied territory. But the organized forces of most of the great Churches, the Church Missionary Society, the Churches of Scotland, the Wesleyans, the London Missionary Society, the Baptists, have started no great mission in the unoccupied parts. From the West and East the C.M.S. are slowly attempting an entrance to the Sudan. The Wesleyans have entered Rhodesia. The Church of Scotland has taken over an endowed mission in East Africa. But none of these movements have the bold, decided, and ambitious features which characterized the efforts of the seventies.

Christians have not been wholly indifferent, for

a large number of undenominational societies have been formed in the meantime and have entered new fields. But these are sorely handicapped by the lack of sufficiently trained men as their workers, by inadequate funds for ambitious plans, and sometimes by lack of a broad policy which will allow them to develop the necessary centres out of which aggressive work proceeds, such as training institutions and printing presses. While the great societies have been dreading that the starting and maintaining of large new enterprises would sap the contributions for the established work, independent associations of Christians have arisen who have captured a liberality that was waiting to be consecrated to the evangelization of untouched regions.

A new generation has come. A new Africa lies at our doors. Is not the hour at hand when again the Churches must be boldly challenged, as they were by Arthington and Stanley, to undertake new and large missions for Africa. The great Sudan, the Muhammadanized lands of East Africa, the hinterlands of the West Coast, the mighty Congo regions, Portuguese East Africa, these and many another field call aloud to the Church. In each one of them scope will be found for the most ambitious society, an untouched field, and no others working.

Governments have not ended their task at the partition. Every one of them is pushing its authority and administration further and further afield every year. As each new land has opened up its prospects new trading companies have entered. Millions of money have been freely subscribed by this country to the most speculative schemes for new Africa, as well as to sure and sane enterprises. What is wrong with the Church that she has not again ventured boldly in these past thirty-five

years? Are there not men and women enough who will risk their capital believing it a great return if salvation be brought to those that are lost? Commerce and administration find no lack of men who will risk all for the prizes they can give. Traders will be found in isolated fever-stricken spots, with little comfort and abundant danger, where no missionary is to be found. We speak of the sacrifice of life in West Coast commerce. No missionary in Rhodesia has lived a more lonely and comfortless life than many of the pioneer officials there. The forests and fever-belts of the Congo have hidden from civilization scores and scores of State agents for every missionary that has entered them. The Church has no monopoly of heroism. Nay, her record is far behind that of many a government and many a commercial firm. Why is it so hard to get men who will hazard all for Christ, esteeming the glory of bringing to degraded peoples the liberating gospel of Christ, a far more tempting service than all that fame and wealth may give to their servants?

Conclusion

Our only hope for Africa is in the awakening of a richer and warmer life at home. We are clogged and bound by the dullness and prayerlessness of the Church which has sent us forth and to which we are linked. We rise in buoyant faith and service in its quickening. By God's own connecting lines, invisible but unbroken, the tone of the home Church reaches into Africa. That fire which may kindle by His Spirit in the home Church will cast its brightness and warmth into the very heart of the continent.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Some of the Leading Dates in the History of Africa

A.D.	
150	Missionary Training College founded at Alexandria. Amongst its Principals were Origen, Clement, and Pantænus
400	Christianity flourished in North Africa. African Leaders in the Early Church were Tertullian, Cyprian, Athanasius, Arnobius, and Augustine
640-100C	Muslim Conquest of Egypt and North Africa
1100-1300	Europe awakens to Missionary Effort.
1182-1226	St Francis of Assisi preached to the Saracens
1235-1315	Raymond Lull, Missionary to North Africa
1394-1460	Prince Henry, the Navigator. Explorer of West Coast, etc.
1484	The Congo discovered
1487	Cape of Good Hope discovered. Vasco da Gama rounded Cape, touched at East Coast points, etc.
1497-98	Portuguese Settlements founded on East and West Coasts.
1517	Charles V granted a patent for exporting African Slaves.
1517	Turks occupy Egypt
1578	St. Paul de Loanda, capital of Portuguese West Coast Colonies founded
1588	First British African Company chartered
1600-1700	English and French founded trading ports along Senegambia, etc.
1652	Dutch established themselves at the Cape
1737	Moravians sent first Missionary to South Africa
1768	James Bruce rediscovers headwaters of the Blue Nile.
1772	Granville Sharp obtained the judicial decision declaring all slaves free on British ground.
1796	Missionary Work begins in West Africa.
1799	London Missionary Society entered South Africa.
1804	Church Missionary Society entered West Africa.
1806	British take the Cape of Good Hope.
1807	Slave trade declared illegal for British subjects

A.D	
1814	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society begin work at the Cape.
1825	Beginning of missionary stations in North Africa.
1841	Lovedale Missionary Institute founded by Free Church of Scotland
1844	Beginning of missionary work in East Africa
1841-73	David Livingstone's journeys and discoveries
1848-75	Opening of Central Africa, chiefly by British explorers.
1861	Universities Mission started.
1865-85	Central African Protectorate founded by Britain.
1871	Stanley's Expedition to find Livingstone
1875	Livingstonia Mission founded by Free Church of Scotland.
1876	Blantyre Mission founded by Church of Scotland.
1876	Uganda Mission started by Church Missionary Society.
1875-77	Stanley's transcontinental expedition and descent of the Congo.
1878	African Lakes' Corporation established.
1885-95	Partition of Africa.
1890-91	Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference
1893	British Central Africa Protectorate formally established.
1897	Zululand annexed
1899-1902	Boer War
1905	First Commission of Enquiry into Abuses of the Congo Free State.
1907	British Central Africa Protectorate became Nyasaland Protectorate
1908	The Congo Free State taken over from King Leopold by Belgium
1910	Union of South Africa.

APPENDIX B

Principal dates of David Livingstone's Life

Born at Blantyre, Lanarkshire	19th March 1813
Ordained Missionary in London	20th Nov. 1840
Embarked for Africa	8th Dec 1840
Arrived at the Cape	Jan. 1841
Married Mary Moffat	1845
Discovered Lake 'Ngami	1st Aug 1849
First Great Journey, Cape to Linyanti	June 1852 to Oct 1853
To open a Road to the West. Linyanti to Loanda	Nov 1853 to May 1854
To open a Road to the East. Back to Linyanti—Linyanti to Quilimane	Sept. 1855 to May 1856
Awarded Gold Medal, Geographical Society	May 1855
First Visit Home	Dec. 1856
Published *Missionary Travels*	Nov. 1857
Severed connexion with London Missionary Society	1857
Returned to Africa	10th March 1858
Second Great Journey, exploring the Zambesi and Shire Rivers	
Discovered Lake Shirwa	May 1859
Discovered Lake Nyasa	Sept. 1859
Universities Mission to Central Africa started	1861
Death of Mrs. Livingstone	27th April 1862
Second Visit Home	23rd July 1864
Published *Zambesi and its Tributaries*	1865
Returned to Africa for Last Time	Sept. 1865
Visited India	Oct 1865
Last Great Journey	started Jan 1886
Discovered Lake Moero	Nov. 1867
Discovered Lake Bangweolo	July 1868
Meeting with Stanley	28th Oct. 1871
Death at Ilala	4th May 1873
Buried in Westminster Abbey	18th April 1874

APPENDIX C

Roman Catholic Missions

It is somewhat difficult to get exact and reliable information about the position of Roman Catholic missions. Their published statistics are notoriously unscientific, and as they are constructed on a different basis from that of Protestant missions, comparisons of figures are more misleading than informative.

We have seen how disorganized and antagonistic much of the effort of the various Catholic Orders was three centuries ago Since that date the whole missionary enterprise of the Catholic Church has been magnificently organized and unified, externally at least. The first Jesuit Pope, Gregory XV, founded the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith This body is called the Propaganda, and has now complete control of all work in non-Catholic lands It is composed of cardinals, and a secretary and notary. Its chief, the Cardinal Prefect, is styled, by the Roman people, the Red Pope, and he is virtually pope of all unbelieving lands—that is, of Protestant as well as heathen and Muhammadan lands The Propaganda establishes and maintains mission colleges, where students are given special training for missionary work It controls all the funds which Catholic people give for propagandist work, and the donors have no power of allocating their gifts. There are several auxiliary societies for the collecting of these moneys, but the contributions of Protestant Churches are many times larger than those of Roman Catholics.

Much has been said in these days of the possibility of an organized co-operation between Protestant and Catholic missionary societies so as to avoid overlapping, but all the approach comes from Protestantism, the Propaganda has not, and cannot make any overtures. The purpose of its existence makes any recognition of Protestantism as a Christian society impossible, for it exists for the conversion of heretics as much as that of heathen, and counts the sacraments and church life of evangelicals as worse than useless. Yet all missionaries and travellers will agree that they have experienced a vast amount of gentlemanly courtesy and Christian consideration from individual Catholic missionaries That is inevitable. The essential brotherhood that exists between Europeans, and the true love of Jesus Christ, which is found in men of all creeds, will assert itself in spite of ecclesiastical differences; but the organized body of Roman Catholicism remains inveterately opposed to that of Protestantism.

This opposition has given rise to serious difficulties in many parts of Africa The familiar story of public slander and hatred which characterized the invasion of Uganda by the White Fathers has its exact parallel in the Congo, Madagascar, East Africa, and elsewhere. In these cases the Protestant missionaries were first in the field, and had already made headway, when the Catholic priests entered, passing over millions of untouched pagans that they might oppose themselves to what they considered the deadlier evil of heresy. They moved forward, strengthened by a papal Bull that 'the movements of the heretics are to be followed up, and their efforts harassed and destroyed.'

The religious war which this intrusion created has been restrained in several parts of Africa by Government interference where Protestant nations were in control In Uganda a division of territory was necessitated to prevent further collisions In German East Africa, and in North-Eastern Rhodesia, spheres were delineated in which the opposing bodies might work But in Catholic protectorates the balance of favour naturally inclined to the Roman priests Thus in Madagascar large numbers of Protestant places of worship were seized by the Catholics, and have never been restored In the Congo Free State, where Protestants have openly exposed the iniquities of the Government, and Catholics have been silent, sites applied for by Protestant societies were deliberately handed over to the Catholics In Portuguese West Africa marriages by Protestant missionaries were not recognized by the civil authorities, while Catholic marriages were.

Among the Orders which are at work in pagan Africa, the Societas Jesu—the Jesuits—is the best known This Order began with the brightest promise and most fervent zeal, but the inevitable interference of its agents with politics led to its expulsion from every pagan country Last century saw its revival at several points. In 1837 a Jesuit was sent to Abyssinia, but he soon raised the suspicion of foreign interference, and all Europeans were expelled, the Anglican Mission ruined, and, in 1859, the Jesuit Order was expelled In 1880 South Africa was reoccupied, by this society, after more than a century's expulsion Its agents tried to force themselves on Khama, but he refused to have them. They succeeded in settling among the Matabili. Lobengula was pleased to have them because of their industrial skill, and they built at Buluwayo. From there they have spread throughout Rhodesia, and have reoccupied their old fields on the Zambesi. They settled again at Tete, Shupanga and other old stations, and there carried on useful agricultural and industrial work, and did not a little to rivive the old Christian traditions, as well as to make valuable linguistic contributions. They worked by means of Christian settlements, forming village of Christians, which in

time would become the parents of other communities They established schools for the children of colonists thereby doing a necessary work which evangelical Christians had neglected They opened orphanages for native children and hospitals for the care of Europeans as well as natives which were served by nuns

Since the revolution in Portugal history has again repeated itself and once more all Jesuit missionaries have been expelled from Portuguese dominions

In addition to the Jesuit Order there are forty eight other institutions at work all over the continent Among these are the Benedictines who are doing good service in German East Africa and a few years ago suffered severely during a native rebellion when their bishop was killed as well as several brothers and sisters and nuns of their statio s burned down On the east coast there is also the Society of the Holy Ghost known as the Black Fathers under a bishop who is resident at Zanzibar They have large congregations at Nairobi and Mombasa especially where numbers of Goanese reside On the Congo they have also extensive work and tried hard to overthrow the influence of the Baptists at San Salvador

In Angola the Congregation of the Sacred Heart have their principal station at Huilla where they have a large industrial institution with some eighty natives engaged in skilled trades such as tanning boot making tailoring waggon building They also do important botanical work by the experimental cultivation of exotic trees and of native plants The Trappists have a famous industrial station near Durban which is one of the most interest ing sights in Natal

But the most widespread operations are those of the White Fathers These missionaries belong to the Society of Our Lady of Africa a French Algerian Order which was founded by Cardi nal Lavigerie about 1873 with a view to the evangelization of Muhammadanism in Africa His ambitions rapidly extended and one of the first acts of Leo XIII was to give Lavigerie a command to evangelize Africa from the Congo to Zanzibar Since that time the line of the Society s occupation has also extended south to wards Nyasa along the plateau of North Eastern Rhodesia Early in the history of his society Lavigerie was wise enough to learn the lesson of past failures and he founded a companion Order of Sisters of Our Lady of Africa which has added a great strength to the work of the Fathers

One of the strongest motives with this apostle of Africa was the suppression of the slave trade, and to do this he revived the idea of a military branch of his Order the Armed Brethren of the Sahara who acted as guards to the brothers and attempted by force to suppress the slave traffic The history of the movements

of these armed missionaries is not edifying Fortifications were built around the stations, strong and loopholed Of course it was impossible that British and German Governments could allow these armed French missionaries to dispense justice within their spheres and to pursue fugitives They became the pioneers of French territorial expansion, and other nations looked on them with not undeserved suspicion

Their plan was to buy slave children and, freeing them, train them to be good Catholics but natives could not distinguish between Christian slave buying and Arab slave stealing Tribes robbed of their children by an Arab slaver believed that they were sold to the Mission and consequently serious trouble arose between the people and the Fathers leading sometimes to bloodshed

Since the suppression of the slave trade the White Fathers have settled down to more Christian and peaceable methods of operation and have become the most important Roman Catholic Order at work for the evangelization of Africa

They live in large settlements consisting of perhaps three or four fathers and lay brothers and some sisters and carry on little boarding schools where children are trained and successful agricultural operations are carried on Recently they have been learning from the Protestant missions and are developing education by means of village schools Their industries like those of most of the Roman missions in Africa have won much commendation from Europeans And few will dispute the fact that the great emphasis they have put on agriculture has been a right emphasis for here the native is being trained to improve that which is his particular possession, and is not simply being apprenticed to trades whose prosperity entirely depends on the presence of the European

What the religious value of all the Roman Catholic mission work has been it is difficult to judge Personally I have come across no product of their mission and therefore cannot speak from first-hand knowledge They claim to have at least six hundred thousand Catholics in Africa but what that fact signifies it is hard to estimate By the recent census of Uganda the Catholics seemed to be more numerous than the Protestants and one of the stations on the Mehings Plateau in North Eastern Rhodesia claims to have two thousand Christians connected with it though it is but a recently established station and situated in a scantily populated sphere It is an undesirable task to try to depreciate the value of their statistical success We would rather believe that many of their missionaries are themselves sincerely devoted to Jesus Christ, and are revealing His incomparable Person to those benighted people I have met many of

their agents—Jesuits, Benedictines, White Fathers, and Black Fathers—and found a strong spiritual sympathy in them. Their whole-hearted devotion, and the light of the love of the Lord that is in many of them, constrained me, however unwilling they might be to recognize any corporate co-operation with us, at least to rejoice that in some 'way Christ is preached,' and the liberty of a life in Him is shown to many who knew no life but that of dark, cruel, and sensual superstitions.

Most Catholic missionaries who come to Africa come for life, and take no furlough This magnificent sacrifice is often held up in contrast to the frequent furloughs, and comparative case of the Protestant missionaries but the sacrifice is unnecessary, and harmful. No European can maintain physical efficiency in a prolonged residence in tropical Africa, and more serious still is the result on the spiritual and intellectual life of the missionary Apart altogether from health necessities, the spiritual and intellectual tonic that is given to a man who has long resided among people who do not think or read, and among surroundings which are peculiarly demoralizing, is more than worth the expense of his passage home. He should be a better missionary, in every way, by every visit home.

APPENDIX D

British Missionary Societies in Africa

	NORTH-EAST (EGYPT TO SOMALILAND)	FOUNDED MISSION STATIONS
B F.B.S.	British and Foreign Bible Society ..	1812
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society	1882
	NORTH-WEST (TRIPOLI TO MOROCCO)	
B.F.B.S	British and Foreign Bible Society ..	1824
C M.M.L.	Christian Missions in Many Lands .	1883
	WESTERN (SENEGAL TO NIGERIA)	
S.S.G	Society for the Spread of the Gospel .	1792
W M.M S	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society	1811
C M S.	Church Missionary Society ...	1816
U F.S	United Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee .. .	1846
S.P.G	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	1852
U.M.C.	United Methodist Church Missionary Society	1859
P M.M.S.	Primitive Methodist Missionary Society ..	1870
Q.I.M.	Qua Iboe Mission	1887
	SOUTH-WEST AFRICA (KAMERUN TO GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA)	
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	1859
P M.M.S.	Primitive Methodist Missionary Society .	1870
B M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society	1879
C.M.M.L.	Christian Missions in Many Lands ..	1881
R.B.M.U.	Regions beyond Missionary Union ..	1889
	SOUTH AFRICA (THE BRITISH UNION WITH BASUTOLAND AND SWAZILAND)	
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society	1799
B.F.B.S.	British and Foreign Bible Society ...	1810
U.F.S.	United Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee	1825
W.M.M.S.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society ...	1867

		FOUNDED MISSION STATIONS
P.M.M.S.	Primitive Methodist Missionary Society ...	1872
B.Y M F M.S	Birmingham Young Men's Foreign Mission Society	1877
C.M.M.L.	Christian Missions in Many Lands ...	1884
Y W C.A.	British National Foreign Department ...	1900
F.C.S.	Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission ..	1907

SOUTHERN CENTRAL AFRICA (FIVE BRITISH PROTECTORATES)

B F.B.S	British and Foreign Bible Society ...	1810
L.M S	London Missionary Society	1860
C.S F.M	Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee	1875
U F S	United Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee	1875
U.M.	Universities Mission to Central Africa ..	1880
C.M.M L.	Christian Missions in Many Lands ..	1882
C.S F.M.W	Church of Scotland Women's Foreign Missions Association	1884
P.M.M S	Primitive Methodist Missionary Society ...	1885
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel .	1891
W.M.M.S	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society ..	1891
Z I.M	Zambesi Industrial Mission .. .	1892
B.I M.S.	Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland ...	1895
N.I.M.	Nyassa Industrial Mission	1896

EAST AFRICA

B.F.B S	British and Foreign Bible Society ...	1817
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society	1844
U.M.S.	United Methodist Church Missionary Society	1861
U.M	Universities Mission to Central Africa ...	1864
S.P G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel...	1893
F.A S.	Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee ...	1896
C.S F.M	Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee	1898

MADAGASCAR AND MAURITIUS

L.M.S	London Missionary Society	1820
S.P G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel...	1836
C.M S.	Church Missionary Society	1856
F F.M A	Friends' Foreign Mission Association. ...	1867

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NOTE.—*The following Bibliography is confined entirely to such books as have direct bearing on the subject-matter of "The Future of Africa" The problem of Islam in Africa is dealt with only in so far as it receives treatment from writers on West and Central Africa The Literature on South Africa is selected with reference to the problem of the native races.*

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